The Passing of Litvinov—*J. A. del Vayo*

THE Nation

January 12, 1952

THE VATICAN APPOINTMENT

Is It Constitutional?

BY MARK DE WOLFE HOWE

Lesson of the Past

BY JOSEPH L. BLAU

The Vatican's Global Strategy

BY MARCUS CATO

JAN 14 1952
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for

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

—POAU—

THE CRISIS precipitated by President Truman's appointment of an Ambassador to the papal head of the Roman Catholic Church must arouse every patriotic American to a sense of his personal responsibility in preventing the consummation of this threat to religious liberty in the United States. Our Constitution guarantees religious liberty by maintaining the separation of Church and State. An Ambassador to the Pope is a clear violation of this constitutional principle. It gives a single church a secret and official access to the ear of our government which no other church would accept. It is a defiant violation of the First Amendment and will place all non-Roman churches in a subordinate status in American society.

A vigorous and expensive campaign lies ahead to prevent the consummation of this un-American and unconstitutional project. The P O A U is spearheading a national campaign to alert the nation to the danger. It will extend into many weeks while the Senate debates the issue. If the appointment is confirmed by the Senate, the campaign will extend into an indefinite future.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

FRANCO, IT SEEMS, IS ALL BUT IN THE family. At first, when Paul A. Porter, acting Mutual Security Administrator, announced that the United States and Spain were about to negotiate an economic-aid agreement, the State Department made sounds of surprise and protested that major decisions had yet to be made with respect to the "basic military relationship" between the two nations. It looked, too, as if objections might be raised in the Pentagon unless the issue of bases for dollars were settled in advance on more favorable terms than Franco is known to have agreed to. But apparently these reactions were sparked by crossed wires rather than by any basic doubts. Mr. Porter is reported as saying that talks would begin by the middle of the month and an agreement would be concluded within ten days thereafter. If this schedule is held to, objectors will have to move fast. But no one seriously doubts that a Security Agency and permanent military mission will soon be established in Madrid and a deal made granting Spain—to begin with—$100,000,000 in military and other aid and formally converting Franco into an ally of this country. More funds will certainly follow, for Mr. Porter's decision was based in large measure on the recent report made by Professor Sidney C. Suffrin of Syracuse University, who recommended an annual United States subsidy of $150,000,000 to bolster up Spain's economy at its weakest points and make it a military asset instead of a burden.

*

ONE POINT MR. PORTER STRESSED SEVERAL times. Franco is not to be pressed to reform his regime. "I look upon it [American aid] from the standpoint of an economic investment." This cold bargaining position does not shock us as it seems to shock some of our liberal contemporaries. We have never liked the look of political strings attached to American dollars; and if we did, we would know in this particular case that they would have no meaning. Franco cannot liberalize his regime. To do so would be to invite its overthrow. Not even American dollars could save him if he allowed the Spanish people to speak or vote or strike freely. If we are to join hands with a fascist dictator, better to do so without camouflage, on Porter's formula. The sickening fact is not that we exact no political concessions from Franco but that we should ally ourselves with him on any terms. Those who read the remarkable articles by Robert Fromm in the two last issues of *The Nation* will realize with new acuteness what sort of ally we are buying. What most Americans may not yet realize is that our decision to support the Franco regime with money and military missions will inevitably have the effect of converting Franco's internal enemies—the oppressed people of Spain—into enemies of the United States. How can it be otherwise, since we are committed to the survival and strengthening of his rule? And if this is true, how secure can we feel even in the bases and airfields we get for our dollars?

*

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED Nations secretariat indicate that relations between Trygve Lie and his staff continue to deteriorate. Another leading official of the Staff Association (see editorial comment in *The Nation* of July 28, 1951), H. Lukin Robinson of Canada, has been dismissed with no reason assigned; and now Mr. Lie proposes to ask the General Assembly for practically dictatorial power to set aside staff regulations and the findings of the Administrative Tribunal, all as part of a campaign to drive from the secretariat persons whom he regards as "bad international civil servants." As bearing on Mr. Lie's conception of a "good international civil servant," it is reported that he informed the chairman of the Staff Committee recently in Paris that the staff would have to decide whether "it is loyal to me or loyal to Lukin Robinson." Mr. Robinson, it will be recalled, was assigned by the Staff Association to defend, before the Appeals Board, fellow staff officers who had been dismissed early in 1951. It is to be hoped that a widely representative group of delegations will call a halt to this program of intimidation and reprisal.

*

J. HOWARD McGRATH IS MAKING A UNIQUE contribution to a solution of the housing problem. The Attorney General is building, with federal prison labor, three "stand-by" prisons in Wickenburg and Florence, Arizona, and El Reno, Oklahoma, for use as con-

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centration camps should the United States be invaded or should war be declared or an insurrection take place. No slum-clearance features will be part of these singular housing projects, which will accommodate when completed about 3,000 dissenters. News stories refer to their construction as "a big-scale operation, providing for a possible roundup of many thousand potential spies and saboteurs." It was Mr. McGrath's predecessor, Tom Clark, who as an Assistant Attorney General laid the constitutional groundwork for these ominous institutions. Mr. Clark was in charge of rounding up 100,000 Japanese Americans during World War II and placing them in so-called "relocation centers," one of which, that at Tule Lake, will be used as an additional future concentration camp. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court, in the Korematzu case, upheld the executive order under which the Japanese were removed from the West Coast and placed in detention centers. And this decision will be cited as the precedent for upholding the provisions of the McCarran act under which any person who, "there is reasonable grounds to believe," might conspire with others to commit acts of sabotage or espionage in an emergency may be arrested and detained in the concentration camps now being constructed.

*

THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS DENOUNCED as false the Russian charge that American forces are transporting Chinese Nationalist troops to Southeast Asia for possible action against Communist China. Washington stories state that the charge may be a "cover" for aggressive action planned by the Communists in Indo-China or elsewhere, but items appearing in the American press with Taipei and Hongkong datelines lend some support if not to this then to another recent Soviet accusation, made in the United Nations—namely, that the United States is plotting subversive activities in Communist-controlled countries. For example, on December 4, Jim G. Lucas, in the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*, reported from Taipei that Major General William C. Chase does not regard Formosa as "an isolated area" and that he would soon pay a visit to Major General John Cole, who heads our military mission in Thailand. An A. P. dispatch from Taipei on December 26 said that a Nationalist officer and twelve soldiers had been killed in an attack on an island off Fukien held by the Chinese Communists. Although not previously announced, the attack took place on December 7. On December 27 a U. P. dispatch from Hongkong announced that six unidentified planes had attacked the Communist-held island of Taichan. And on December 31, General Chase, in an interview at Taipei, stated that the United States and Nationalist China might work as "a team in action outside Formosa." The same dispatch quoted Chiang Kai-

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shek as saying that Formosa was being prepared as a model province "for the recovery of all China." All this may fall under the heading of psychological warfare designed to deter possible Chinese aggression in Southeast Asia, but it points to the danger that Chiang's continued occupation of Formosa with a large force, armed and trained by Americans, may involve us in further difficulties with Communist China. Formosa is a time-bomb ticking off the coast of Asia.

*

WHEN A YOUNG AMERICAN OF INDIAN descent, slain in Korea, was refused burial last summer in a Nebraska cemetery because his heritage was something less than pure white, President Truman rightly denounced this most un-American outrage. Now the President may be forced to repeat his denunciation. Another Korean veteran, this time a nineteen-year-old Negro from Phoenix, Arizona, has been denied burial in a veterans' plot in Greenwood Memorial Park. A policy of the park—owned and operated by Arizona Lodge Number 2 of the Free and Accepted Masons—has been to bury Negro veterans only after three notarized letters of request have been received from veterans' organizations. The father of the dead soldier has refused to ask for such a humiliating "clearance." He believes his dead son should be buried in a democratic manner beside his fallen comrades—just as his life was taken from him—without regard to his race or color or creed. But efforts to lift the cemetery's bar have been blocked on the ground that they would constitute "undue interference in the cemetery's affairs," and consequently the soldier's body has been lying in the morgue for more than five weeks. Thus a new twist has been given to racist practice, which now follows its victims to their very graves. An official of Greenwood Memorial Park has said: ". . . we got a place for all races and creeds out here. The soil is the same in one part . . . as it is in another."

*

POOLS OF UNEMPLOYMENT ARE BEGINNING to appear in industries where new defense orders are insufficient to compensate for cuts in production due to sharply reduced allocations of materials. In the Detroit district, for example, the number of jobless has risen to 120,000—80 per cent more than twelve months ago—largely owing to layoffs in the automobile industry. It will rise still farther if the Defense Production Authority abides by its plan to restrict the output of private cars to 800,000 units in the second quarter of this year. Labor and management alike are protesting on the ground that the proposed cut is discriminatory, but DPA spokesmen claim that the automobile industry is actually being given special consideration. The contemplated cut will bring it down to 52 per cent of pre-Korean output, while some other consumer-goods industries are being restricted to 35 per cent of that level. On the other hand, the social impact of sharply reduced production is especially serious in the case of automobiles becaus of the immense size and geographical concentration of the industry. Moreover, it seems that it may be many months before arms contracts take up the slack. The Ford Company, for instance, expects to fill only $400,000,000 worth of defense orders this year while losing $1,300,000,000 worth of civilian output. Such a hiatus suggests faulty planning in Washington. But it may be that some responsibility also attaches to managements which have been reluctant to turn to defense production so long as the demand for cars was high and materials could be scraped together.

*

THE WEST AGAINST ITSELF IS AN OLD THEME. Nearly half a century ago, Western Senators and Representatives, obedient to the timber interests, put up the major opposition to the creation of federal forest reserves in the Western states. Similar disregard of the people's interests is now exhibited by Idaho's solidly Republican delegation on Capitol Hill, which is trying to block the construction of Hell's Canyon Dam across the Snake River. The Idaho politicians are supporting, instead, a proposal of the Idaho Power Company to erect five low dams on the Snake. Idaho is without any important home industry, and low-cost electric power is the state's principal need. The five Idaho Power Company dams would generate 487,000 kilowatts of prime power. The dam in Hell's Canyon would produce 688,000 kilowatts at the site, and by storing water for release during the dry season, would add 742,000 kilowatts to the output of Bonneville and McNary Dams, downstream on the Columbia River system. Thus the elected representatives of the people of Idaho are willing to settle for only one-third of the energy which might ultimately be made available to them in order to protect the preferential position of a private power monopoly. The Hell's Canyon Dam would also provide flood-control benefits all the way to the sea, while the Idaho Power Company dams would be useless for that purpose. The Idaho Power Company, moreover, charges a substantially higher rate for industrial power than that offered by the Bonneville-Grand Coulee grid, and Hell's Canyon's kilowatts would flow into this system. A bill authorizing construction of the Hell's Canyon project is now before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

*

SENATOR ALLEN J. ELLENDER, RETURNING from a trip to Europe, has discovered that while the United States is assisting Austria with ECA money, France, Russia, and Britain are demanding from Austria

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some 150,000,000 shillings a year for occupation costs. To the Senator this seems so sensational that he wants to call the Austrian Chancellor Figl as a witness before a Senate investigating committee. The Chancellor's response was somewhat embarrassed—about the way a Nobel Prize winner might react when called to testify on the validity of the multiplication table. Senator Ellender seems to have overlooked the fact that the United States has been paying its way in Austria for the past four years and assisting the Austrian government, first with army funds, later under the Marshall Plan. The British, while obtaining Austrian shillings for occupation costs, have contributed substantial relief funds to Austria. The problem is thus essentially one of inducing France and the Soviet Union to forego their demands upon Austria. If the Senator intends to do this, we wish him the best of luck. But does he really think this purpose would be served by his opposing further assistance to Austria? Moscow can hardly be expected to change its foreign policy under the threat of a lowered living standard—in Vienna.

Mr. Truman Versus A. M. A.

THE President's appointment of a Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation is in one sense a confession of failure, since it means that he has abandoned hope of early passage by Congress of his national health-insurance bill. However, the move shows that Mr. Truman is not prepared to surrender to the American Medical Association, whose expensive and unprincipled propaganda against "socialized medicine" has been a prime factor in blocking action for a national health service. The new commission should at least keep public interest in the problem alive, and if it performs a thorough job of fact-finding, it may provide us with a really authoritative up-to-date picture of our health set-up.

No one can say that the commission has been "packed." Its chairman is Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, distinguished Chicago surgeon and former chief medical director of the Veterans' Administration, who even if he does not share the A. M. A.'s complacency is on record as opposing compulsory health insurance. A number of highly qualified physicians and medical educators have also consented to serve, together with a group of prominent laymen representing labor, farmers, and consumers.

Nevertheless, the appointment of the commission has been violently attacked by Dr. John W. Cline, president of the A. M. A., who charges that President Truman's action is "a brazen misuse of defense-emergency funds for a program of political propaganda designed to influence legislation and the outcome of the 1952 elections." According to Dr. Cline, "there is no health emergency in this country to require such an investigation," since "the health of the American people never has been better."

This onslaught, with its undertone of self-satisfaction, was easily predictable from the record of the A. M. A., which has a Candide-like faith that, medically speaking, this is the best of all possible worlds. Last June, in a speech at the dedication of the National Institutes of Health Clinical Center, President Truman said that in advocating health insurance he was not wedded to any particular plan. "What I want," he continued, "is a good workable plan that will enable all Americans to pay for the medical care that they need. And I will say here and now that if the people who have been blocking health insurance for five years will come up with a better proposal—or even with one that is almost as good—I will go along with them." Replying to this challenge, Dr. Cline declared: "A better program already is available and is functioning admirably—the American medical system, which has made this the healthiest great nation in the world."

Such ineradicable smugness itself proves the need for an objective survey of the medical facilities available to the American people. Possibly this country is the healthiest in the world—the Swedes might challenge that—but certainly good health is not available in equal measure to all the people. In the country as a whole, for instance, there is 1 physician for every 741 persons, but in Mississippi the ratio is 1 to 1,449 and in South Dakota 1 to 1,316. For the United States the infant-mortality rate has been brought down to 32 per 1,000 live births (1948) compared with 47 ten years earlier. But in New Mexico 70 out of every 1,000 babies die in their first year, which may have some connection with the fact that 34.4 per cent of the births in that state were unattended by physicians. (Incidentally, both maternal and infant-mortality rates are lower in socialized Britain than in the United States.)

Even the A. M. A. admits that more doctors are needed and that medical educational facilities are inadequate. It has started a fund for their improvement but apparently has not been as successful in raising money for this purpose as in passing the hat to fight national health insurance. As a result, the rush of medical students to Europe is so great that Dr. Morris Fishbein, a veteran opponent of public medicine, has been led to declare that some means must be found to utilize government funds for medical schools.

But the training of more doctors, important as that is, will not by itself solve the problem of the high cost of medical care, which puts it beyond the reach of millions and in cases of serious illness not infrequently swallows up the life savings of comparatively well-to-do people. Blue Cross and other prepaid voluntary-insurance plans have modified the problem to some extent, but they have not proved an answer to those groups

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most in need of better health services. Possibly some compromise between the wholly voluntary system and compulsory national insurance may provide a feasible solution, and any recommendations that the President's commission may make on this score will deserve careful consideration. But until some other plan is adumbrated, "socialized medicine" holds the field as the best means of raising health standards to the high level which the wealth of this country and progress of the healing arts make possible.

The Vatican Appointment: A Second Look

DESPITE the many puzzling and contradictory aspects, it is now possible to trace at least the main outline of the story behind President Truman's extraordinary announcement of October 20 that he had nominated General Mark W. Clark as ambassador to the Vatican.

Although the President acted suddenly, it is now clear that he had had the appointment under consideration for a long time. In a press conference on October 26 he said that he had been studying the question ever since the retirement of Myron C. Taylor in 1949 as his personal representative at the Vatican. The abruptness with which the Taylor mission was terminated had come as a shock to the Holy See, and a marked change had been noted in Vatican protocol in dealing with American visitors and related matters. President Truman had been urged at the time, by Representative John McCormack and others, to meet the issue by sending a minister to the Vatican; but apparently neither a minister nor a "personal representative" was what the Vatican wanted.

There the matter rested for some time, although the debate within the Administration continued. Then, in January, 1951, the President privately offered the ambassadorship to Charles P. Taft, formerly president of the Federal Council of Churches. Mr. Taft declined it.

In May and again early in the summer Mr. Truman assured Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam that the appointment would not be made, but before long the goings and comings between Rome and Washington indicated that the issue was once again receiving top-level consideration. On October 12 Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., announced from Rome that no action was likely to be taken before the 1952 Presidential election; in the double-talk of politics this implied that an appointment was in the cards.

It is evident, therefore, that although the President's decision to send the name of General Clark to the Senate may have been abrupt and dictated by purely tactical political reasons, the idea of resuming diplomatic relations with the Vatican was part of a carefully thought-out strategy. Several Washington columnists have recently reported that Mr. Truman is entirely serious about the matter; one of them has said he intends to send a representative to the Vatican "no matter what happens to delay or block confirmation" of the Clark appointment. It can be taken for granted, therefore, that Mr. Truman intends to have his way on this issue.

The timing and method of the announcement, however, appear to have been influenced by short-range political considerations. Clark was named on October 20. Two days later, when Philip Jessup was given his interim appointment as United States delegate to the U. N., the opposition of McCarthy and McCarran was noisy but ineffective. General Clark's name was sent to the Senate a few hours before it adjourned and with no advance notice. Since unanimous consent would have been required to consider the appointment, the President cannot have expected it to be confirmed. Also Mr. Truman named a general of the active army who had already assured him that he did not intend to resign. Unanimous consent would also have been necessary for consideration of legislation required to exempt General Clark from the provisions of the 1870 statute barring such appointments. Obviously, therefore, the proposal was made in a way that insured postponement of ratification until January, with no interim appointment possible. These facts justify the conclusion that the President intended to put Congress "on the spot," to embarrass Senator Taft in particular, and to create an issue out of which he could win political advantage. The more strenuously the Protestants attacked the appointment, the more strenuously—by inference—the Catholics would have to rally to the defense of the Administration, McCarthy and McCarran to the contrary notwithstanding. But politics are not always as simple as the blueprints of politicians. In this case there is reason to believe that the President's handling of the entire affair was a diplomatic and political blunder.

In the first place, Mr. Truman announced that General Clark was being named as ambassador "to the State of Vatican City." That even this would be unacceptable to the Pope was made crystal-clear in a column by Anne O'Hare McCormick in the New York *Times* of December 24. Writing from Rome, Mrs. McCormick said:

> Advocates who argue that the appointment is not to a religious leader but to the ruler of the scrap of real estate called Vatican City do not get much support here. The mission is either to the Pope as the head of a world-wide church or it is nothing . . . to pretend anything else is to make the appointment useless or reduce it to absurdity. All other countries sending representatives to the Vatican accredit them to the Holy See, and

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If the United States decides to send one at all it will follow the regular formula.

Reports from Rome in the wake of the announcement were eloquent of Papal dissatisfaction. Naming a military man as ambassador was itself a source of annoyance, for it emphasized the strategic aspects of the appointment. "If I go," said General Clark, "I will go as a military man in much the same status as General Walter Bedell Smith when he went to Moscow." A similar diplomatic *faux pas* was implicit in Mrs. Roosevelt's comment that the appointment would have "tremendous value in our fight against Communist Russia" and would "broaden the base of our intelligence," since the Vatican had "many good men behind the Iron Curtain." Dispatches from Rome quickly pointed out that this careless reference would constitute "excellent justification for the jailing and expulsion" of priests in Iron Curtain countries. Referring to Vatican sources, they also emphasized that the whole idea of "blocs and groupings" was repugnant to the church, that the announcement of the President's decision had been greeted with "marked reserve," and that even confirmation of an ambassador would not be construed as meaning that the "Holy See has become a member of the North Atlantic Military Alliance." These rather frosty comments seemed intended as a rebuke to those who had presumed to address the church as though it were merely another European state.

But the larger issue relates, of course, to the question of strategy: did the President strengthen the forces "combating communism" by appointing an ambassador to the State of Vatican City? The Pope's Christmas Eve message, which emphasized again the church's neutrality in the conflict between East and West and its unwillingness to enter into an alliance with any temporal power, arouses serious doubt that the appointment has improved relations between the Vatican and the United States. At the same time, confirmation of the appointment is more likely to undermine than to strengthen those "center" political groups which, both in Italy and France, contain important anti-clerical elements (see William Murray's article elsewhere in this issue). Nor did the President's move contribute to the improvement of Anglo-American relations. It has been suggested that one reason for British coolness toward the European federation planned at Strasbourg is that such a federation would be dominated by Catholics. This would lend credence to the theory lately advanced in the European press that the appointment of an American ambassador was intended to win Vatican support for the idea of a "little federation," should the larger European federation not be achieved. The "little federation" would be composed of France, Italy, and perhaps Luxembourg, and would, of course, be almost exclusively Catholic.

In the United States the effect of the appointment, on the eve of a Presidential election, was not only to increase disunity and tension but to embarrass an important minority among the Catholics themselves. Religious differences have been given greater political significance than they have had in many years. It is already clear that parties and candidates will attempt to use the Vatican issue to their own advantage. Already, too, Protestant groups are displaying a new political unity of action. In this sense, the appointment subverts the civic unity which we have always managed to maintain as a people, with a few lapses, despite our manifold racial, ethnic, and religious differences.

But apart from its political impact, both abroad and at home, there is no reason to think that the sending of an ambassador to the Vatican will be of assistance in the effort to contain communism. The notion that the Vatican is an invaluable "listening post" has been pretty thoroughly demolished. Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, president of the Union Theological Seminary, has pointed out that on three recent occasions of the highest importance to the Papacy—the agreement of the Polish government with the Roman Catholic bishops, the banishment of Archbishop Beran from Prague, and the trial and conviction of Archbishop Grosz in Hungary—the Vatican received its first information from secular sources. *Time* magazine said: "The efficiency of the Vatican's 'world-wide information service' has probably been exaggerated for many years." The Pope, of course, has frequently and vigorously condemned communism, but he continues to insist that the church cannot be an ally in a struggle for power. Even if this statement is to be taken with serious reservations, the presence of strong Communist parties in Catholic France and Italy would indicate that Catholicism is not always an effective antitoxin against communism.

We have discussed the appointment as a political matter, since that is apparently its chief strategic significance. In the blind struggle for power now being waged throughout the world it seems almost irrelevant to raise an issue of principle. But that issue cannot be pushed aside. Does the appointment violate the principle of the separation of church and state? Speaking as "a life-long Baptist," Mr. Truman has said "certainly not," but the Baptists, including his own pastor, strenuously disagree. In our view, the appointment violates the principle not only in the narrow sense that it might be ruled unconstitutional if a test could be devised but in the much broader sense of undermining the tradition, the experience, the meaning of the principle itself. As Bishop Oxnam has pointed out, an ambassador in Rome means an ambassador here. The presence of a papal nuncio in Washington would surely give a privileged status to one religious faith not enjoyed by any others. It would also support the contentions of those who have stressed the political orientation of the church and the

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implications of its hierarchical structure to a democracy. The question, indeed, would arise, whether the members of the Roman hierarchy should be required to register as agents of a foreign power. More important, perhaps, is the fact that the appointment represents a regression to an outmoded, European form of church-state relationship. If it stands—whether General Clark or another is confirmed—it will be only the first step in a process that will reverse the historical American position on church and state. To most of us this would be far too high a price to pay for even a brilliant diplomatic success; it is incontestably too high a price to pay for a diplomatic blunder which has annoyed those it was supposed to please and confirmed the suspicions of those it was certain to annoy.

The Passing of Litvinov

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, January 4

IT WAS one of my greatest privileges to work closely with Maxim Litvinov in the Council of the League of Nations. In a volume of German documents on Spain seized by the Allied armies and published by the State Department at the beginning of last year there is more than one reference to that period and that association. Hitler's ambassadors were uneasy when they saw the case of Spain taken to heart by a man of such tremendous powers of persuasion and such penetrating insight.

Litvinov, of course, realized that the question of whether or not there would be a second world war would be decided in Spain, and I had his full support in the Council from the day I predicted that if Hitler were not stopped in Spain, general war was unavoidable. But I prefer to think of Litvinov's role in another great hour, when Spain was not a direct issue—the period preceding the Munich disaster. He had always been convinced that the only hope of keeping the peace was to confront Germany with an irresistible security bloc; and in spite of so many previous failures in the League, he tried with all his strength to inject the will to resist into the weak chorus of the Chamberlains and Bonnets. I saw him constantly during those days and I am a witness to his determination, and Russia's determination, to back the League to the limit if the League stood up to its duty.

He had many advantages over most of his colleagues, and one of them was his knowledge of the essence of fascism and his hatred of it. I am sure that until the day of his death he felt the same.

He knew the West quite well; especially he knew its leaders. His unique experience of having worked for years, and successfully, to break the *cordon sanitaire* around the Soviet state made him a realist in his approach to Western policy. From the moment that Czechoslovakia became the issue in the Assembly of 1938, he clearly foresaw how events would unfold. For he realized that hatred and fear of communism would prevail even over the instinct of national patriotism and self-defense. He anticipated Munich, and Munich took place. His formula for dispelling the apparent obscurity of an international situation would today lead inevitably to the conclusion that the main goal of the policy of containment is to rule out the possibility of negotiation with Russia.

By an ironical coincidence Litvinov was buried in the Novo-dyevichi cemetery the day the Political Committee in the Palais de Chaillot started debate on the work of the Collective Measures Committee. It was Litvinov who, not in theory but in practice, concluded the most exemplary non-aggression pacts with Russia's border states, who negotiated the French-Russian pact, who presented the League with a definition of aggression that has never been improved upon, and who not only declared peace "indivisible" but knew how to combine strengthening the defensive position of his own country with strengthening peace throughout the world.

Hoping against hope, I continued to believe that improvement in his health and changed circumstances might permit Litvinov's reappearance on the world scene at a moment when Germany, in defiance of the dictates of reason, was being transformed into the cornerstone of Western policy. He knew Germany as no one else did.

But now Litvinov is gone. In years to come historians and commentators on foreign affairs will appreciate much better than they do today the real stature of this remarkable man.

The Voice of Science

BY LEONARD ENGEL

THE biggest annual event for American scientists is the Christmas-week meeting of the 103-year-old American Association for the Advancement of Science. While important discoveries are seldom announced at the meeting—most scientists prefer to publish them in professional journals as soon as they are made—its symposia and invited addresses, plus corridor gossip, accurately reflect the main trends in American science.

This year's meeting in Philadelphia was the most "political" I can remember. No fewer than eight symposia, some extending through two or three sessions, were largely concerned with the difficulties of science in the contemporary political world. (Many other sessions were devoted to the help science can offer in solving the world's problems, such as food resources and social change, but science has always had a lot to say about that; I am talking about the problems the world has created for science.) The views expressed were not always welcome to liberal humanists, but many sharp, useful things were said, and the association's Executive Council wound up with a stiff resolution condemning

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the McCarran act. Dr. Edward U. Condon, target of the House Un-American Activities Committee two years ago, was elected president for 1954—I am told unanimously.

An all-day session on Soviet science was extremely provocative. Dr. Theodosius Dobzhinsky, the Russian-born Columbia University geneticist, unsparingly denounced Russian suppression of Mendelian genetics but pointed out that genetics and other sciences are also subjected to heavy political pressure in the United States. Dr. Russell L. Ackoff, of the Case Institute of Technology, said that there had been no new ideas in the social sciences in Russia since Lenin, but that neither had there been any in the United States in decades. In both countries, he declared, the primary activity of social scientists has been justification of the status quo. (I understand that the meeting of the American Historical Association of New York the same week was a perfect example of what Dr. Ackoff was talking about; the program was devoted almost entirely to a tedious rationalization of current official American policy.)

Two symposia at the scientists' convention took up the question of anti-scientific trends and urged wider public dissemination of the rational scientific approach to social and political problems. The suggestion was made that American science needs a voice to speak for it, continuously and authoritatively, on questions of the day as they come up. I am not sure that this idea is feasible—the voice could represent only the lowest common denominator of the scientific community's opinion—but it is good to see scientists recognize their obligation to speak out as citizens.

Diplomacy, Religion, and the Constitution

BY MARK DE WOLFE HOWE

IT IS a sacred political tradition of the United States that questions of public policy are to be discussed as problems of constitutional law. It was inevitable, therefore, that when President Truman announced his decision to send an ambassador to the Vatican, discussion of the matter should, sooner or later, be directed to the issue whether the President's action violated the provision of the First Amendment that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Those who assert that the Presidential proposal is unconstitutional have, quite naturally, turned to passages in recent opinions of the Supreme Court in which the justices, speaking either for themselves or for the court, have made broad pronouncements with respect to the meaning of the American principle of separation embodied in the First Amendment. Perhaps no pronouncement has been more comforting to the President's critics than that of Justice Black in the *Everson* case: "The 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the federal government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. . . . Neither a state nor the federal government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa." It can scarcely be necessary to elaborate upon the application which such pronouncements as this have been given by those who oppose the President's decision. Emphasizing the tenuous character of the Papal claim that Vatican City is a "state" in the sense that international law has used that concept, the critics of President Truman have been insistently asking how the head of one church can constitutionally be granted a status which no other church has sought or secured. Certainly there is grave doubt whether the President's proposal does not violate the principle of separation as formulated by Justice Black.

So far as I know, the most careful effort to answer the President's critics in constitutional terms is that which Professor Edward S. Corwin made in the New York *Times* on November 12. That answer, if I understand it correctly, involves three basic points. First, it argues that the Executive's diplomatic powers are unlimited and that the President, accordingly, possesses virtually complete discretion to establish diplomatic relations which he believes promise national advantage. Second, the answer of Professor Corwin maintains that the letter of the First Amendment merely prohibits the Congressional enactment of laws respecting an establishment of religion and does not forbid non-legislative action by the President, even if that action, if taken by Congress, would be a violation of the First Amendment. Finally, Professor Corwin emphasizes his belief that there is no procedure by which Presidential action, even if its constitutional validity is doubtful, could be brought in question before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Persuasive and cool-headed as is Professor Corwin's argument, a few questions concerning its validity may properly be raised. It is well to remember, in the first

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place, that Professor Corwin has been a vigorous critic of recent decisions and dicta of the Supreme Court respecting the purposes and meaning of the First Amendment. His conviction that the court erred when it accepted such broad pronouncements as those of Justice Black which I have quoted leads Professor Corwin to disregard them and to look only to the language and the circumstances surrounding the birth of the First Amendment. It is true, of course, that the text of the amendment limits Congressional action only; yet the court has said that the prohibition applies not simply to Congress but to the federal government. It is difficult to understand, I submit, how in this respect the court could have given the amendment a narrower reading. Those who framed the amendment were surely concerned with imposing limitation upon all branches of the national government, and not simply with providing a safeguard against Congressional action. To accept Professor Corwin's suggestion would seem, furthermore, logically to mean that when other problems of the First Amendment, such, for instance, as those concerning freedom of speech, are dealt with by executive rather than legislative action there are no constitutional barriers to Presidential suppression, at least if that suppression does not involve the imposition of a "rule of conduct" by executive order or decree. Perhaps Jefferson and Madison gave an absurdly extensive interpretation to the First Amendment when they contended that its provisions made a Presidential proclamation of Thanksgiving Day unconstitutional, but they were surely right in believing that the amendment limited executive power to the same extent that it confined legislative authority.

PROFESSOR CORWIN does not make it entirely clear whether in his opinion sending an ambassador to the Vatican would, under recent decisions of the Supreme Court, be unconstitutional. In urging that the Executive's discretion in establishing diplomatic relations is virtually unlimited he seems to accept the principle that no provisions of the Bill of Rights limit Presidential authority in that area. Yet his concluding argument that no procedure exists assuring judicial review either of executive action in making an appointment or of Congressional action in appropriating funds for the purposes of an embassy at the Vatican, seems to assume that serious questions of constitutional law are involved.

Quite possibly Professor Corwin did not intend to leave in his reader's mind the impression that action may be characterized as unconstitutional only when the Supreme Court is empowered to condemn it. It is, however, dangerously easy to read his argument as if it supported that proposition. If "unconstitutional" is so defined for purposes of the current debate, and if Professor Corwin's argument that there is no means by which judicial review could be assured is also accepted, then the Presidential appointment and legislative appropriations in aid of it would be constitutional. Any such narrow definition of terms, however, would have most unfortunate consequences, for it would go far to justify the President and Congress in abdicating their responsibility to observe constitutional limits on their power. If it is important that those limits be seriously considered by the Congress and the President in normal circumstances, when the safeguard of judicial review is at hand, it is doubly important that the responsibility be thoroughly recognized when no procedure exists whereby the issue of constitutional law may be brought to the judiciary for final solution.

In facing the constitutional problem there are, of course, many questions which the President and the Congress must consider. Not the least important of them is the question which Professor Corwin has raised concerning the authority of the President, in handling the nation's diplomatic relations, to follow a discretion leading him in directions which the Supreme Court has said he may not take while dealing with domestic problems. That question is doubtless serious and debatable, and I, for one, should be unwilling to say that Professor Corwin's answer to the problem is not acceptable. In facing that issue, however, the President and the Congress are not as morally free as Professor Corwin seems to think they are to disregard recent decisions of the court concerning the separation of church and state. Whether or not one believes with Professor Corwin that those decisions have distorted the original meaning of the First Amendment, they remain, until reversed, the constitutional law of the land. Certainly those who disagree with the decisions are free to urge their reversal and to marshal the reasons why such decisions, right or wrong, are inapplicable to the problem in hand. What is objectionable, in my eyes, is Professor Corwin's pronouncement that when President Truman nominated an ambassador to the Vatican he "performed an act of state of the most commonplace kind." Surely it was not that. At the very least it was a determination that recent constitutional opinions of the Supreme Court on permissible domestic relations between the national government and churches have slight if any international relevance.

ONE further element in the present controversy deserves emphasis. History is normally the most helpful of instruments in the solution of constitutional questions. Things often done are likely to be classified as constitutionally done. The Supreme Court went surprisingly far in transforming the separation of church and state into a divorce of government and religion. The fact that this transformation has so recently occurred means that the history of relations between the United States and the Vatican, although it is relevant the question of policy, has little constitutional significance. It also

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means, I suggest, that there is little relevance in the fact, often emphasized by those who support the President's action, that other nations committed to the principle of separation have found no constitutional difficulties in maintaining diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Until another nation committed to separation has gone as far on the road to divorce as the Supreme Court went in the *McCollum* case it is hard to treat the policies of other nations as having substantial bearing on our constitutional issue. The seas of separation to which the court so recently committed us are more turbulent than the President's supporters are willing to admit. It will be unfortunate if the public is led to believe that the tempest is occurring in a teapot. To evade the storm by seeking refuge in a formula which says that the judiciary has no authority to consider the problem or to control executive discretion is to encourage irresponsibility in government. Discretion is only to be respected when it is conscious of the traditions which surround it and of the limits which an informed conscience sets to its exercise.

The Lesson of the Past

BY JOSEPH L. BLAU

VATICAN CITY is a token of the former temporal power of the Pope. About a thousand people live in its 109 acres. For nearly sixty years before 1929 the secular power of the papacy was non-existent, but through a concordat signed in that year this tiny domain was restored to the ruler of the Roman Catholic church by the Fascist authorities. It is to the Pope as "governor of Vatican City" that President Truman proposes to send an ambassador. The issue will undoubtedly be thoroughly aired before Congress acts. Here I shall explain only that it is not a new one, although it is posed in an unprecedented form.

In the mid-nineteenth century the Papal States formed a significant political entity. Their area was about 16,000 square miles and their population more than 3,000,000. They were no mere "token" of temporal power but a real force in the political life of Italy and Europe. Only the ruler of the Papal States—which included the city of Rome—could hope to become ruler of a unified Italy. Had the democratic forces under Mazzini been able to hold the city, whence the Pope had fled, the course of Italian history might have been changed and with it the history of Europe and America.

As early as 1779 wise John Adams, out of his experience as the representative of his country in France, wrote that he thought the Continental Congress would never "send a Minister to His Holiness, who can do them no service, upon condition of receiving a Catholic legate or nuncio; or, in other words, an ecclesiastical tyrant which, it is hoped, the United States will be too wise ever to admit into their territories." Adams's words were specifically directed against the exchange of representatives. In 1797, during his Administration, the United States established consular offices in the Papal States, but formal diplomatic relations were instituted only after the lapse of half a century.

Pius IX was elevated to the Papacy in June, 1846. Within the limits set by his combination of secular and ecclesiastical authority, he was progressive in his political views. At the beginning of his reign he had a box placed at the Vatican in which citizens might deposit suggestions and complaints. He introduced many long-overdue reforms into the social and political structure of the Papal States and inaugurated a program for improving the material condition of his subjects. In his demand for withdrawal of Austrian troops from Ferrara the long dream of Italian unification was revived under the slogan "Italy, one country, one ruler, and that ruler Pius IX." Even Nicholas Browne, United States consul at Rome, who made no effort to conceal his lack of sympathy with the Papacy, reported to Washington that "many long years have elapsed since the Chair of Peter was filled by a pontiff as amiable and worthy as Pius IX."

In the United States, newspaper editorials, mass-meetings, and legislative resolutions urged the government to make some tangible demonstration of the sympathy of the American people for the new regime. This enthusiasm, culminating in the demand that formal diplomatic relations with the Papal States should be established, was generated by a libertarian political spirit which welcomed Pius IX to the group of enlightened rulers and the Papal dominions to the list of modern states. Scattered signs of aloofness from this general sympathy could not be called opposition. Objections were more concerned with terminology than with ideology. Protestant journals decried the use of such titles as "Reverend Father" and "His Holiness." A Philadelphia paper insisted on using the inexact terms "Italy" and "Italian government" instead of "Pope" and "Papal government." Only a handful of journals, like the Episcopal *Churchman* of New York, raised the basic question whether political government by

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religious authorities could at any time be considered desirable.

The Papal authorities had always extended the privileges of the diplomatic corps to the American consuls in Rome. Now they suggested to the American government that they would not be averse to receiving a fully accredited diplomatic representative. Secretary of State Buchanan thereupon recommended to President Polk that an appropriation be sought for opening formal diplomatic relations with the Papal States. Polk's message to Congress of December 7, 1847, transmitted Buchanan's recommendation with this comment: "The interesting political events now in progress in these States, as well as a just regard to our commercial interests, have in my opinion rendered such a measure highly expedient."

The proposal was vehemently debated in the House of Representatives. Lewis C. Levin of Pennsylvania, a leader of the Native American Party, was the spearhead of the opposition. In a long speech on the issue he said that "sympathy with Pope Pius IX appears to be the hobby-horse of political leaders," and "sympathy for the Pope has grown almost into a fashion." The measure was dictated, he asserted, by a desire to attract the votes of Catholic Americans; no public benefit would come from this embassy. Much of his speech, however, was mere Native American vituperation, and his opponents had no difficulty in pointing out his falsifications and misstatements, thus drawing attention away from the real problem to a host of secondary matters. When the question was put to the House, the appropriation for an embassy was approved, 137 to 15. One of the two Roman Catholic members of the House voted for the measure, the other against it. After equally prolonged but far less acrimonious debate, the Senate approved by a vote of 36 to 7.

THE first chargé, Jacob L. Martin, secretary of the American legation at Paris and a Catholic convert, died suddenly soon after reporting to Rome. His successor, Lewis Cass, Jr., was raised to the rank of resident minister in 1854. Other ministers were John P. Stockton (1858-61), Alexander W. Randall (1861-62), Richard M. Blatchford (1862-63), and Rufus King (1863-68). The instructions issued to them by the incumbent Secretaries of State stressed the civil nature of the representation. Each Secretary recognized and tried to convey to the minister certain difficulties in the situation caused by the Pope's dual position. Buchanan's instructions to Martin were more explicit, partly because the embassy was a new departure and these instructions were its foundation, and partly perhaps because the Secretary had some feeling that the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical should be drawn with special care for the benefit of this Catholic appointee.

Buchanan's letter of instruction makes it plain that he regarded the naming of an envoy as a reward to the Pope for his adherence to the cause of freedom. It was the hope of the American government that the reforms instituted by Pius might facilitate profitable commercial relations. This hope remained unfulfilled while the Pope retained the secular sovereignty. Not until the Papal States had been incorporated in a unified Italy was the antiquated system of monopolies which restricted trade eliminated. Buchanan feared too that a situation might arise in which it would be difficult for the American envoy to take a stand because of the interweaving of religious and civil issues. In his reply to these instructions Martin indicated that he understood their purpose and the delicacy of his mission.

Both personal and official relations between the Papal government and the American ministers were very good. Each side made the utmost effort to understand the viewpoint of the other and to present its own case in disputed matters sincerely and in full detail. The development of a number of misunderstandings during the two decades of the mission, despite the good intentions of both parties, lends plausibility to the belief that the difficulties were inherent in the attempt to maintain diplomatic relations between a freedom-loving nation for which governmental non-interference with religion was a central principle and a sovereign in whom secular and ecclesiastical power were united.

The liberalism of Pius IX was before long revealed as but temporary and prudential. As soon as he could Pius

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Look Out, Harry, Here Comes Something Still Bigger!

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broke with the liberal forces of Mazzini and his "Young Italy" movement. In the struggle between the Papacy and Mazzini for domination, the American minister was placed in the middle. When the triumph of Mazzini's forces drove the Pope out of Rome and into retirement at Gaeta, other members of the diplomatic corps accompanied Pius in his flight. Cass, who had not yet presented his credentials, asked the Secretary of State whether he was to present them to the Pope or to the authorities of the new Roman Republic. True, no other nation had recognized the Roman Republic, but it had been till then the policy of the United States to recognize de facto governments without inquiring into their legitimacy.

Mazzini and other officials of the Roman Republic pressed Cass to present his credentials to them and thus implicitly extend to them the recognition they craved from a sister democracy. The anti-Papist Nicholas Browne, who was in charge of the American legation pending Cass's arrival, had gone as far as his authority extended and perhaps even exceeded his warrant by warmly congratulating the new government as soon as it was set up and assuring it that the American government would be sure to recognize it. Cass, with more perception than Browne, realized that the other European powers would do all they could to prevent the provisional republican government from establishing itself, and for this reason did not present his credentials. Now both the Papal and the Republican party felt that the American minister had acted improperly.

When Pius IX returned to Rome—after the French had intervened and the forces of Louis Napoleon had defeated the Republicans—he shifted completely from his earlier reformist program. It had been possible before for his partisans to say that he was prevented by the cardinals from implementing his liberal program; now it was evident that he had renounced liberalism. Both theologically and politically the rest of his long pontificate was to be marked by an extreme conservatism. Yet it was not true, Cass pointed out in a dispatch of April 21, 1849, that the anti-Papal group was merely a radical and ultra-democratic rabble; much of the opposition was to government by the "ecclesiastical oligarchy" of the cardinals.

From this time, less than two years after the establishment of the American embassy, there could be no fundamental sympathy between the two governments. The very reason for the inauguration of relations, the liberal program of Pius IX, had been abandoned by its author. The sentiment of the American people changed rapidly. No longer could Congressman Levin have claimed that sympathy for the Pope was a reigning fashion. When Monsignor Bedini, a Papal representative, visited the United States in 1853, he was of course received with official courtesy in Washington, but in many of the cities he visited there were popular demonstrations against him as the supporter and representative of a despotic government.

AFTER 1849, then, there was a surface patina of cordiality between the American government and that of the Papal States, but underneath was a deep-rooted distrust which bred minor incident after minor incident. In 1852 the Washington Monument Association refused a block of Italian marble sent by the Pope for use in the construction of the monument. During the Civil War American public opinion and official sentiment were offended by the report, unsubstantiated but widely believed, that the Pope had extended "virtual recognition" to the Confederacy. Finally, in 1867, without formal rupture, diplomatic relations were halted when Congress refused to appropriate funds for the embassy.

One basic reason for the distrust, a reason which has today fully as much force as it had in the middle of the nineteenth century, is that even the secular mind in America is deeply influenced by the Protestant heritage. When, in 1850, Cass saved two thousand Italian Protestant Bibles from burning, his stock rose in the public mind and that of the Papal government declined. From the very earliest days of the embassy in Rome, Americans at home doubted that the Papal authorities, in accordance with international custom, were permitting the embassy staff to hold Protestant services. Official documents make it clear, however, that Protestant services were held regularly, with the full knowledge and consent of the authorities. Some difficulties were occasioned by the fact that there were frequently as many as three hundred American visitors in Rome and the chapel in the embassy was not large enough to accommodate all of them; when another building was used, the police withheld approval until the embassy insignia was placed on it as well as on the building used for official purposes. To list all the incidents of two decades would be irrelevant here; it is both relevant and important to point out that rumors of the denial of the right of Protestant worship were frequent in America in this time and that some writers have explained the failure to continue the embassy after 1867 entirely on that ground.

Today, when the question of an ambassador to Vatican City is before us, it is well for us to keep in mind this earlier experiment and to learn what we can from its failure. It is expressly important to remember that the establishment of diplomatic relations had two explicit purposes: to strengthen Pius IX in what looked like a liberal program and to open a new field for American commerce. In neither of these aims was the embassy successful; the Pope reverted to conservatism, and commercial advantages did not come until after the termination of Papal dominion. Finally, we should remember that a move expected to bring about better understanding

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and unity among nations became entangled in perennial religious controversy and brought, instead, misunderstandings and disharmony.

[I am indebted to Roman Catholic publications for most of the historical material used in this article. Leo Francis Stock has edited for the American Catholic Historical Association "Consular Relations Between the United States and the Papal States" (Washington, D. C., 1945) and "United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Dispatches, 1848-1868" (Washington, D. C., 1933). Sister Loretta Clare Feiertag's dissertation for the Catholic University of America, "American Public Opinion on the Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Papal States (1847-1867)" (Washington, D. C., 1933), brings together a great deal of useful material. Needless to say, the *interpretation* of the sources given here differs from that of Stock and Feiertag.]

The Rise of Italian Secularism

BY WILLIAM MURRAY

A VIGOROUS attempt is being made in Italy to unify the minority center political parties into a powerful "secular third force." Recently in Rome, Ugo La Malfa, Minister of Foreign Trade, made a public appeal for unity. Of course creation of a third force between the Communist left and the Demo-Christian right has long been the ambition of Italian moderates, and La Malfa's appeal was unusual only in coming from a member of De Gasperi's Cabinet. It was preceded by another expression of national discontent. In late October thirty-eight non-Communist Senators and Deputies signed a manifesto also calling for formation of a third force and voicing concern that Western Europe, and Italy in particular, was losing control over its destiny. (American domination has caused one Italian writer and teacher to refer to Italy as "East Florida.")

Both La Malfa's speech and the earlier manifesto mentioned the growing dissatisfaction with the influence of the Roman Catholic church in Italian affairs. La Malfa, who is a Republican, was very specific. He called for "an agreement among the democratic secular parties," presumably excluding the Christian Democrats. The political purpose of such a move is either to take the government away from De Gasperi's party or at least to force it to make important concessions to the center parties. The past and present power of the Demo-Christians to formulate policies without considering the center has been entirely due to the inability of the bickering Republicans, Liberals, and Social Democrats to agree on even the most trivial issues.

But the Demo-Christians are at last worried about the possibility of secular unification. This was evidenced by the irritated declaration of their secretary general, Guido Gonella, on the day after La Malfa's appeal: "Today's problem is social, not political. An accord with Christian Democracy would satisfy this exigency. This is no time for discussions on 'secularism' or 'confessionalism.'" Spokesmen for the Liberals and Social Democrats, however, hastened to assure La Malfa that now was certainly the time. Bruno Villabruna of the Liberals and Giuseppe Saragat of the Social Democrats said that they favored a united program but that the Republicans would have to quit the government before this could be achieved. If the center did unite to form a secular bloc, the prospect of losing the 1953 elections would force the Demo-Christians to cooperate with it in order to defeat the Communist-dominated "Popular Front," still the largest vote-getter in Italy. It is even conceivable that a secular bloc could obtain a slim majority in 1953. A fresh political wind blowing through the peninsula could capture the votes of people veering away from Christian Democracy in search of a positive political philosophy.

La Malfa, one of the ablest economists in Italy, was a member of the now defunct Action Party, the "party of the intellectuals," before joining the Republican Party, which claims Mazzini and Garibaldi as its spiritual founders. The Republican Party is the only minority party now participating in De Gasperi's seventh government coalition. The Social Democrats walked out last April, causing a minor crisis which the confident De Gasperi overcame simply by resigning and resuming power within the space of three days. The Demo-Christians, whose political strength rests squarely on the negative issue of anti-communism and the positive prospect of continued American aid, have long realized that if any unification of Italy's discontented, anti-clerical center parties is to be accomplished, the initiative must come from the Republicans, who command few votes but much respect. Politically the Republicans could bridge the gap between the conservative but anti-clerical Liberals and the Social Democrats. The present Cabinet's ablest members are Republicans: Randolfo Pacciardi, Minister of Defense; Carlo Sforza, ex-Foreign Minister, now without portfolio; and La Malfa himself, the young-

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est and most outspoken of the group. These men have lent their considerable talents and the prestige of their party to De Gasperi's otherwise colorless and uninspired government.

As La Malfa made his appeal during a session of the Republican Central Committee, there is no doubt that he speaks officially as a member of his party. By calling for more social reforms and by laying the emphasis on anticlericalism he struck at the core of the national discontent. Internal Italian politics have always revolved around the issue of state versus church, and the Republicans have fought on the side of the state since the days of Mazzini and Cavour, and even before Garibaldi marched up the peninsula to chase the foreigner out and smash the temporal power of the Pope. Clerical rule has never been popular in Italy, and we must not forget that Christian Democracy was founded by an Italian priest in 1919 and that De Gasperi emerged from the Vatican library after World War II to step into a job for which the church had carefully prepared him. This makes powerful propaganda for a secular political coalition with the drive and the means to bid for power.

On a practical political level, however, there are many obstacles to unification. At present only the Republicans seem to be capable of formulating a program and carrying it out. The Social Democrats, a party only in name, are floundering about in a morass of pedantic hair-splitting. Their leaders call for party unity and refuse to yield a political inch. The ablest man among them, Silone, has refused to accept any official post and now devotes his considerable talents to backstage cynicism. (I recently heard him refer to United States Ambassador James C. Dunn as the "Vice-King of Italy.") The Liberals, who have been trying to agree on a platform for months, came up with a seven-point "unification program" a week after La Malfa's appeal. In point six they proclaim their "respect for the church, as long as it remains within its proper sphere of action." The Liberal platform, however, as laid down in the seven points, differs widely from the moderate socialism of the Social Democrats, calling as it does for the "reestablishment of a free, competitive economy"—"reestablishment" is hardly the right word, since such an economy has never existed in Italy.

The Republican problem is to strike a balance between the Liberal program of freedom for business interests and the state-control formula of the Social Democrats. All three parties feel strongly about the necessity of destroying the temporal power of the church. As a matter of fact, the Liberals, whose internal policies otherwise closely resemble those of the Christian Democrats, have long fought the government program of regional autonomy, which has enabled Catholic Action, the temporal arm of the church in Italy, to gain actual political control over communities in many parts of the country. If the secular democratic parties could agree temporarily to set aside their differences concerning the administration of the national economy, they could offer the underfed, underpaid, poorly housed Italian voter a strong incentive to go to the polls and recapture his self-respect.

The Vatican's Global Strategy

BY MARCUS CATO

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has proposed to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican at a time when the Catholic church is engaged in one of the greatest organizational efforts in its history. Since the end of the Second World War the Vatican has seen that American diplomacy, now dominant in Western Europe, was content to fight communism without offering an alternative. Its own purpose goes farther: Catholicism, it is determined, shall provide the alternative. Its success can be gauged by looking at Western Europe today —Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and Ireland are ruled by openly Catholic parties. This achievement is the work of Catholic Action groups in the various countries. Similar groups are now being formed throughout Latin America and in the United States to assure the West's active cooperation in Papal policies. Since the United States is simultaneously trying to build up Europe's military defenses against communism, the Vatican is naturally eager to strengthen its bonds with this country by establishing diplomatic relations.

Once Catholic governments had been installed in Western Europe and Latin America, Rome set about coordinating their activities and using them to further its perennial aim of uniting all peoples under its authority. That is the significance of two recent events which are more closely related than they appear—the World Congress of the Lay Apostolate held last fall in Rome and the ceremonies closing the extended Holy Year at Fatima in Portugal.

The purpose of both was to produce conditions favorable to world-wide Catholic expansion—conditions, that is, which permit the church complete freedom of action.

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Where this freedom exists, as in the West, it must be exploited fully and made secure against possible attacks; where it does not exist, as in the East, it must be conquered. The pattern varies with the country, but the goal is the same everywhere.

In his address to the World Congress of the Lay Apostolate the Pope stressed that all Catholic Action groups must become, like their prototype in Italy, an instrument to help the clergy further the policies of the church. He ruled out a suggestion that their action should be parallel to but independent of that of the clergy. "It is self-evident," he said, "that the apostolate of the laity is subordinated to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, for the hierarchy is of divine institution: the apostolate, then, cannot be independent with regard to it." And he added: "To think otherwise would be to undermine the very wall of which Christ Himself has built His Church."

Another purpose of the Lay Apostolate Congress was to settle the thorny question of the relation between organized religion and the state. The Catholic church has long maintained that since politics influence the morals of a people, it has a duty to invade the field of politics in order to defend morality. In his address the Pope condemned the "noxious tendency" that would "confine the church to those questions said to be purely religious, to keep the church to the sacristy and sanctuary," and went on to explain: "There is a reciprocal penetration between the religious apostolate and political action . . . in the highest sense of the word, which means nothing other than cooperation for the good of the state." Quoting from a previous address, he added: "It would be blameworthy to leave the political field free to persons unworthy or incapable of directing the affairs of state."

Tactics that apply to Catholic countries do not of course apply to Protestant countries. As the French Catholic leader, Count de Mun, once said, in France the separation of church and state is an impious thing, while in the United States it is pious. Where Catholics are in a minority, separation protects their freedom and must therefore be supported, but should America ever become a predominantly Catholic country, the principle of separation between church and state, upon which this country is founded, would be considered by Rome as "impious" as it is in France. In terms of the organization of Catholic Action, however, this difference does not exist. Even more than in Catholic countries, Catholics here are expected to extend and coordinate their activities to serve the purposes of the church.

ONE of the church's primary aims is the conversion of Russia, which will be accomplished, the Vatican feels certain, when communism is destroyed. This aim partly explains the emphasis on the ceremonies at Fatima, which have been described by Bishop Sheen, who attended as the representative of Cardinal Spellman, as "the greatest religious event in the history of the modern world." One million persons, one-eighth of the population of Portugal, took part.

The Virgin Mary is said to have appeared in 1917 to three Portuguese children in the village of Fatima and to have told them: "The Holy Father will consecrate Russia to me. It will be converted, and an era of peace will be granted to the world." At that time, because Russia had proclaimed the freedom of religion and destroyed the power of the Orthodox church and of its head, the czar, the Vatican hoped that the revolution would lead to a reunion with Rome. A semi-official publication saw in it the hand of Providence, and Benedict XV later referred to Russia as the country where "the announced liberty of religion gave rise to the hope of a better future." The Orthodox church, having been closely bound up with the czarist regime, was left without head or prop and might, it was thought, seek an alliance with Rome in order to survive.

Immediately the Vatican laid its plans for that day. On May 1, 1917, Benedict XV created the Sacred Oriental Congregation and shortly afterward the Pontifical Oriental Institute to train missionaries to go to Russia. The Congregation was given jurisdiction over all countries where the Greek Orthodox Church was predominant—that is, Russia and Bulgaria, the Middle East, and northeastern Africa. Today, having been excluded from Eastern Europe, its field is necessarily limited to the Middle East. Through that region, especially the Holy Land, the church hopes eventually to reach Russia. That is why the Vatican has in recent years taken an unprecedented interest in the Palestine question. That is also the meaning of the encyclical "Sempiternus Rex" of September 8, in which the Pope urged "heretical" Middle Eastern sects to return to the unity of the church.

The Middle East has additional importance for Rome today because it adjoins the Far East, where the loss of China with its 3,000,000 Catholics was a severe blow to the church. The Vatican hopes that just as the conversion of Greek Orthodoxy in the Middle East may lead to the conversion of Russia, the conversion of the Moslems in the Middle East may help it to reach the Orient. In the two most important Moslem nations in the Far East—Pakistan and Indonesia—Catholic missionary activities have been greatly intensified.

The ceremonies at Fatima were connected also with the Vatican's desire to convert the Moslems. The Virgin appeared in that tiny village, the church declares, because it bore the name of the daughter of Mohammed, of whom the Koran said, "She is the most holy of all the women in paradise, next to Mary." According to Bishop Sheen, "the Blessed Virgin chose to be known as Our Lady of Fatima as a pledge and sign of hope to the Moslem peo-

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ple, and as an assurance that they who show her so much respect will one day accept her Divine Son."

The Vatican hopes to gain American support for its plans for the conversion of Russia and the expansion of missionary activities in the Far East because its freedom of action in both the Middle and Far East is dependent upon political conditions, which in turn depend on American policy in those regions. Thus diplomatic relations with the United States can be a valuable aid to Catholic expansion. For the church the destruction of communism in the Middle East, as in Europe, is only a step toward the achievement of its ultimate purpose. Catholicism hopes eventually to serve as the alternative to communism.

Spanish Journey—Franco's Props

BY ROBERT FROMM

Madrid, December 21

IT IS some months since the day I took Mrs. L—— to town. Yet I remember clearly the ride and what she said. Mrs. L—— was a gray and placid housewife of fifty-five, and I had not paid much attention to her during the week I had known her. Then, on my last day at the village, I offered her a lift. We were exchanging monosyllables, when suddenly, as if the dikes of restraint had burst, she began to talk. In a low, angry voice she spoke of the low rations, the rising prices, the thriving black market, the official corruption, and the general distress.

"Half the people in our street are hungry," she said. "They'll work for ten pesetas a day, or even just for food. But they are afraid to complain. They don't know who might report their words, and then the police come. People who were arrested a year, or two, or three years ago are being let out now, and they are only fit to die. I talk freely with you because you're a foreigner, and you're going away. But if anyone knew I'm talking like this now, I'd be in prison tonight. Our life is black with fear."

Other people in other towns have told me the same story, but somehow it is this gray, stout woman who symbolizes for me Spain in its years of distress. As in the Communist countries, fear here is part of the climate of daily life. People grumble, but very cautiously. Jokes are repeated about Franco, or his Moorish guards, or his wife's visits to the jewelry stores on Gran Via, but only to trusted acquaintances. Spaniards seems to have a curious yearning to share their troubles with a friendly foreigner, but they don't want to be seen talking earnestly to a foreigner in public.

This fear is one reason why there is no large underground here. Police and Falangist informers are everywhere, and the penalties are savage. An underground does exist, but it is small and fragmented. Until about two years ago a strong group, comprising mostly former Anarchists and Republicans, was active in Barcelona, especially in the distribution of illegal newspapers. Their work has now been stopped. Smaller underground groups run by Socialists, Communists, or Basque or Catalan separatists sporadically issue newspapers or handbills but are incapable of any important action. While they probably all took part in the strikes of last spring, no one I met thought they initiated them.

Inefficient and often corrupt as the police are, they have built an enormous web of paid and volunteer informers which misses little. According to the government's own admission, of the 37,000 people in jail, half are political prisoners. Careful Western investigators put the number of political prisoners at 40,000. No one but Franco and General Hierro, his Chief of Security, knows the exact number. A bystander gets occasional glimpses into the workings of a police state. Word is smuggled out of the Guadalajara Prison that Eduardo Villegas, a forty-eight-year-old Socialist, is being fed forcibly, after a six-week hunger strike; he was sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment in 1947 for trying to establish liaison between the Spanish Socialists in France and the clandestine groups in Spain. Some days ago the entire Spanish press carried a statement by the police on the arrest of twenty-seven members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia. The statement was a pained Falangist reaction to a protest filed with the United Nations by the Socialist International. The arrested men and women, it said, were not Socialists but Communists, and they had been publishing two underground newspapers, *Mundo Obrero* and *Trevall*; it was "not expected" that they would be executed.

Arrests are not the only way in which the Falangist state deals with dissidents. The "sanctions" which it imposes can make normal life all but impossible. In July the newspapers front-paged Franco's amnesty for railroad workers "sanctioned" in the fearful aftermath of the civil war, who were now permitted to apply for their old jobs. In October, "at the request of the syndicates," Franco pardoned thousands who had been

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penalized for striking last spring. This was the first public admission that, on the quiet, there had been mass reprisals.

But there is still another reason for the absence of a strong underground. The civil war is not forgotten. It cost Spain a million lives, and the physical damage still shows naked and ugly at every turn. Most people feel that Franco cannot be overthrown without a sharp fight. That would mean another civil war, and they shy away from the thought. Franco is an abomination, but chaos and bloodshed are worse.

YET the belief of liberals that Franco survives only through terror is a fallacy. No dictator can hold power solely by means of his secret police. Franco s ays in power because, in addition to the police, he has strong institutional support, and he uses it adroitly.

By far the most important of Franco's props is the army; the army is the solid base of the Falangist state. Though Spain is threatened by no enemy, Franco has been keeping 300,000 men under arms. It is a pathetic force, ragged, badly equipped, and underpaid, but it has served its purpose as a super-police body.

To make sure the army does not get any odd ideas, Franco jealously weeds out all potential rivals. Such notable figures as General Alfredo Kindelan and the Nationalist war hero Aranda Mata have been purged. Not all the generals are happy. I am told that before last spring's strikes some of the more perceptive officers urged the Generalissimo to take steps to relieve popular distress before it expressed itself in violence. On the whole, however, the army is not socially conscious, and it is Franco's pet. The military have been getting a third of the budget, apart from the sums allotted to the colonial forces and the armed Secret Police. And it is a sure bet that in his talks with Washington, Franco will insist, above all, on funds and equipment for his army. He knows where his power rests.

Next to the army stands the church, which since the defeat of the Axis has come to play a commanding role in social and political life here. Franco himself is of course deeply religious, but his present close affiliation with the church is less piety than a shrewd political contract. Ramon Suñer, Franco's brother-in-law, and formerly his liaison with the Axis, has vanished from the scene which he dominated for so long. His place next to Franco's ear has now been taken by the Cardinal Primate. A clever and able Catalan in his late sixties, the Cardinal helps to mold El Caudillo's mind and policy. It is even suggested that some of his most important speeches were ghost-written by the Cardinal.

There are other links between the church and the Falangist state. Franco's Foreign Minister, Alberto Martin Artago—less famous for his diplomatic talents than for his thirteen well-publicized children—is a former head of Acción Catolica and is still influential in its affairs. The Bishop of Madrid is one of the thirteen members of the Falange's Political Council. The Bishop of Montonedo recently visited a Falangist youth camp and delivered a speech extolling "the glorious Spain made by Franco." "The army bugle and the church bells" he said, "together call the youth of Spain."

In the shift of political power which brought the church to the fore the Falange has lost ground. This has been more than an echo of totalitarian defeat. Like the Kuomintang in its years of decay, the Falange has grown fat with wealth, corrupt, and lethargic. The black shirts are taken out only for the prescribed rallies; the Fascist salute is frowned on officially; the old fervor is gone.

But the Falange cannot be underestimated. It has grown into the political body, and especially in the smaller towns the Falange *is* the state. Franco himself is its head. Its secretary general sits in the Cabinet—and until the July shake-up served concurrently as Minister of Justice. The new national leader of the syndicates was until this fall a provincial governor and a Falangist chief. (American labor leaders who are said to be willing to accept the Franco regime if it "liberalizes" the trade-union movement should consider whether labor unions in a Fascist-patterned, corporate state can be divorced from the ruling party.)

Courtesy Washington *Post*

Even more importantly, the Falange is the dictator's main instrument of mass control. The Falange runs the labor, youth, and women's organizations. It dominates the press, culture, and education. With its 700,000 members, it forms a gigantic web of espionage into private lives. Finally, it provides Franco with a paramilitary force which he could use in case of domestic trouble. El Caudillo is sensitive to criticism of the Falange. The other week, in a typical aside, he noted sharply that "the movement is not outworn, since it represents the destiny of a whole generation."

The man who speaks for Falangist "ideals," if not for the party, is one of Franco's closest aides, Luis Carrero Blanco, a captain in the navy. Still in his early forties, Blanco has had a meteoric career. Since the July reshuffle, which put him in the Cabinet, he has held the post of

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Minister of the Presidency, a sort of deputy Premier. Two daily news programs which every Spanish radio station is required to carry frequently include a commentary by one Juan de la Cosa, the name of a famous navigator of the age of exploration. Under this pseudonym Blanco extols El Caudillo as the savior of the West from its own folly and communism, attacks the West for its "blockade" of Spain, and praises the "high moral ideals" of the Falangist state. It is widely believed that Franco himself outlines some of his aide's more important broadcasts.

Among these three props of the Falangist state—the army, the church, and the Falange—not all is brotherly love. The army, for instance, regards the Falange with no more affection than Hitler's Wehrmacht once showed toward the Storm Troopers. But the friction thus far has been pretty well concealed, and Franco has skilfully kept the factions supporting him fairly well balanced. Together, they form a strong foundation for the regime, for they represent Spain's only mass organizations, control all means of communication and suppression, and know what they want.

AS FOR the people, their reactions range from suspicion of the regime to hatred. The moneyed class is divided. It is grateful to El Caudillo for saving it from Marxism, but it worries about the Falange's syndicalist ideas, borrowed from Italian Fascism. "The ban on strikes," a factory-owner told me, "is a sound development, but why can't I fire my workers if I want to?" On the whole, however, the rich are prosperous and content, and in any leftist revolt would again flock to Franco's banner.

The middle class, caught in the grinder of inflation, is largely anti-Franco. It ranges from bookkeepers, who cannot make ends meet, to intellectuals, who not only starve but also have to make their ideas acceptable to some Falangist overseer. It is symbolic of the fate of the intellectual in Franco's Spain that the chief censor, Dario Fernandez Florez, who decides what is to be published and what suppressed, is the author of a current best-seller—the near-pornographic story of a prostitute.

Industrial labor and the peasantry, ill-paid, undernourished, illiterate—the government admits one in four Spaniards cannot read or write—and unable to protest, are bitterly hostile. It is possible that the accumulated resentment expressed in the strikes of last spring might have forced a change of government, or at least important modifications, if at the critical point friendly American gestures had not saved Franco. I am inclined to doubt it, but it is a view widely held in Spain, and it has to be taken seriously. As once in China, opinion here links us with an unpopular regime.

The official propaganda line has changed a bit since last summer. There are still vigorous, and well-subsidized, efforts to sell the Spanish "mother country" to the Spanish-speaking republics of Latin America. There is still fairly open talk of a "Greater Spain," with the first moves in the direction of Gibraltar and French Morocco, both "stolen from Spain." The Falange even proposed a "Day of Mourning" in August, to be observed annually until Gibraltar is regained. There are sharp anti-British undertones in Captain Blanco's commentaries, reflecting, beyond doubt, Franco's own belief that Britain is responsible for Spain's historical decline. But this attitude is being modified, and the anti-American propaganda, for the moment at least, has been suspended.

The new line seeks to persuade the Spanish people—and perhaps the foreign embassies here—that world events justify Franco's policies and that the West needs Franco's help in its hour of danger. Thus the newspaper *Madrid*, in an editorial circulated, for emphasis, by the Foreign Ministry, said:

> Although it is true that from a military standpoint the Pyrenees are formidable, what Spain is really envied is its moral worth. This moral worth, and Spain's proved anti-communism, gives the Pyreneean summits their real importance. The contrast between the Spanish people, armed with their perfect morale, and other countries, whose morale is shaky and tainted with communism, forces the Tyrians and Trojans to acknowledge that Europe's real bulwark, its best guaranty of resistance, its decisive chance of victory over communism, its garrison of good soldiers, its natural bridgehead for America, is Spain and only Spain.

This, of course, is nonsense. Franco needs the West far more than it needs him. Neither he nor anyone else can be certain what the impoverished and restless Spanish workers and peasants would do in a crisis. But the new propaganda line changes El Caudillo from a supplicant for American help into a powerful figure to whom the free world must turn for aid.

I do not know how people here will react to this line. In general, they are too occupied with the dreary business of keeping alive to pay much attention to Falangist editorials. A few have told me hopefully that "perhaps American aid will mean more bread." A few hope that if any aid is granted, "you'll make sure that it doesn't stick to the hands of the gang in Madrid." But I have heard one remark I shall not forget. With a Spanish friend I was attending a Falangist rally at a Mediterranean port. There were the usual black shirts and involuntary crowds, the usual tributes to Spain's glory, the usual cheers for Franco ("Franco Sí, Comunismo No!"), and the usual gibes at the decaying West. "This," said my friend, "is what you Americans are backing here. And so many of us have thought you friends!"

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PERIODICAL FAMINE

By VINCENT BROME

DISTRESSED as it is by the odor of so many deceased and dying journals, British periodical publishing today could hardly be expected to show an air of optimism. Since the end of last year more than twenty-three journals have ceased publication or merged with others, or appear less frequently than they did. They represented an extraordinary diversity of opinion and interest, but most of them were highly specialized small-scale weeklies of not very great significance to the community at large; several catered to, shall we say, esoteric tastes—*Pigeon Racing News, Amateur Sport, Childhood and Youth.* The real rub is this: in its more bitter reaches Britain's economic struggle seems to penalize the "serious" magazines, literary, cultural, and sometimes political, more effectively than others. Over the last few years literary journals like *Horizon* and *New Writing* have dwindled away, while great populars like *Illustrated* appear at first sight more opulent.

In point of fact, popular magazines are not unaffected. Some survive and flourish only with a radical change of policy, some have been forced to vulgarize their appeal, and a few are now so heavily disguised that no one would suspect their origins. Too frequently, in the present economic mold, whenever trouble threatens and circulations waver, standards are lowered and sometimes discarded. But the majority of popular papers do survive while *Horizon* and *New Writing* sicken and die.

The trouble begins once again with the cost of paper—though of course the far more profound question of whether a world rearming for peace can sustain its cultural life intact underlies everything. There are many types of paper, from newsprint to art paper, and the rise in cost varies from 100 to 160 per cent, but the difficulties are due as much to advertising fluctuations as to paper cost. Many trade, technical, and even scholarly periodicals have found that rearmament and the shortage of raw materials seriously inhibit advertising—nobody wants to advertise the greater havoc wrought by his particular brand of shell or the explosive range of his torpedo in the *Times Literary Supplement* or the *Cornhill.* Some magazines have lost one-third of their revenue as a result. Soaring costs and falling advertising together call for fierce economies if publication is to be continued.

But post-mortems on defunct, dying, or indisposed journals cannot stop here. A third and equally significant factor has to be taken into account. Before the war there were flocks of magazines in Britain publishing short stories and articles, from the *Strand Magazine* and the *Windsor* to the *Grand Magazine* and *Twenty Story.* All these have gone. The death struggles of the *Strand* were long drawn out. Different editors changed its policy and character, adjusted its format, introduced more intricate display and layout, and in the long run accepted diminution to pocket size, but none of these elaborate twists and turns saved it from extinction. The wholesale collapse of magazines like the *Strand* began long before the current economic difficulties arose and reveal the third influence in the general decline. One of the stock fallacies sustaining the confidence of many publishers over the years has been the belief that a magazine "of character," presenting a strongly defined attitude to life and integrated by a creative idea, can preserve its prosperity indefinitely. Publishers resist the notion that the particular character of a magazine may be "worked out." They insist that timely injections of modernization, to reconcile the paper with a change in current attitudes, will continuously renew its life. Hence the prolonged attempts to stem falling circulation by every device from vulgarization to gift schemes, and the monotonous consistency with which they fail.

Some element of atrophy must be admitted in any post-mortem on more recent magazines. The philosophies for which they stood have crumbled away; their personality has suffered hardening of the arteries. But whereas in the 1930's this was the dominant explanation of decay, today the cause is at least as much economic.

Some highly revered monthlies show this ambivalence very clearly. Scientific materialism has overrun their Old World outlook, and the reluctant attempt to compromise cannot be carried too far without destroying the original identity of the magazine. Compromise might have sufficed without the fierce rise in costs, but sheer economics force some of them, like the *Cornhill,* to meet the situation by appearing quarterly instead of monthly. (The rumor that the *Cornhill* is about to close down is false.)

In contrast, the story of the women's magazines remains phenomenal. *Woman* is said to sell two million copies weekly, and its rival, *Woman's Own,* presses close on its heels. The production and sale of popular fiction, female advice, romance, and mysterious substitutes for the harsh realities of living continue to flourish, and in some cases make matters worse for the more "significant" magazines.

Not that they have any direct effect on periodicals like *New Writing.* The troubles of the literary periodical in Britain today are epitomized in the decline and death of *New Writing.* At its peak, during the war, this magazine was selling 80,000 copies. Torn out of their normal environment, beset by ultimate realities, people then faced up to a deeper consciousness which was to some extent satisfied and was certainly made articulate by *New Writing.* Thrown back upon their own resources, they found the mind not only a refuge, as

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John Lehmann puts it, but a fortifying influence, and they eagerly absorbed what one group regarded as their cultural "medicine" and another as profound reading. Today the pressures have relaxed, preoccupation with everyday things has overlaid deeper awareness, and the audience in consequence has dwindled. Before it ceased publication *New Writing* had fallen to 20,000 or 30,000 copies. But it was not only a matter of numbers. The rise in production costs and the increased selling price played a big part; it is possible that without the fierce upsurge of costs the magazine would have survived, for John Lehmann, its editor, had many ideas for renewing its life. Indeed, he still has.

But much of this happened before the weight of British rearmament became a serious threat. Today, rearmament may inhibit still more the free exchange of ideas, information, and opinion in some sections of the periodical press, although most of the old-established weeklies have the situation in hand.

The *New Statesman*—dare I mention it?—has compromised by increasing its price from sixpence to ninepence, but the *Tribune*—does the name mean anything?—has a literary editor who bitterly complains that lack of space has become a Procrustean bed. The *Spectator* has so far done nothing more drastic than increase its selling price by one penny, and the *Economist* appears to thrive. Some monthlies are in far worse shape. Wholesale increases in selling prices and advertising rates are one widely accepted solution, but they bring the danger of a proportional fall in advertising. Some weeklies now appear fortnightly, fortnightlies appear monthly, and quarterlies—completing the logic—sometimes fail to appear at all.

It may sound metaphysical to suggest that rearmament will be that much less effective if our periodicals become more inhibited, but critical analysis of ideas and current events has an indisputable part to play, and endless subtleties of the democratic principle are involved.

International democracy does seem to some British writers and editors a rather primitive affair when the most wealthy and powerful member of the United Nations proliferates magazines of every kind from the glossy giant to the learned journal while Britain is forced back on papers so insubstantial in some cases as to be almost incapable of self-support. The whole of a British Sunday newspaper runs to eight to ten pages, perhaps as large as one supplement of the New York *Times; Picture Post* has 60 pages against *Life's* 140; *Partisan Review* survives, *Horizon* has gone. We have no equivalent of the *Saturday Evening Post, Collier's*, or *Look*. Comparatively, the British scene is desolate.

[This is the second of two articles on publishing in Great Britain. The first, dealing with book publishing, appeared in the issue of December 1.]

Colette in America

SHORT NOVELS OF COLETTE. With an Introduction by Glenway Westcott. Dial Press. $5.

THIS reprint of six short novels of Colette is a joy, though the selection might have been better and the translations—"Chéri," beautifully done by Janet Flanner excepted—are sometimes rather feeble English. Yet the choice, considering that Colette has been writing for more than fifty years, is representative, ranging from the giddy and pleasantly school-girlish "The Indulgent Husband" (1902) through "Chéri" (1920), "The Last of Chéri" (1926), and the incomparable "The Other One" (1929), with "The Cat" (1933) and "Duo" (1934) as pendant attractions. The total effect is impressive. In addition, Glenway Westcott has provided a long and informative though somewhat rhapsodical introduction.

Reading and rereading Colette is an amusing and exciting experience. Even without Mr. Westcott's assertion that "she is the greatest living French fiction writer," one becomes aware of gifts enormous in their range though carefully limited in their application. She never attempts more than she can well manage; she knows always exactly what she can do; she is profound, but she never tries for profundity. She is enormously skilful. In the earliest of these tales, "The Indulgent Husband," a situation which might easily have degenerated into a sordid triangle or a wretched farce becomes an occasion for wit, high spirits, and, at the last, deep emotion. The Chéri sequence is more serious throughout, a relentless analysis of the brief and sad career of a monied gigolo, a young man incapable of real feeling or of real expression who is at once civilized, so far as he ever becomes a human being, and ruined by an elderly courtesan. For when he marries—Colette's moral insight is infallible—it is he and not his temporarily broken-hearted mistress who suffers disaster. "The Other One" is the best story in the collection, quiet, almost uneventful, with, as a background, all the eventfulness of a successful play going into production. Here again there is a triangle, this time husband, wife, and secretary, which is brought to a certain resolution when the wife realizes that her relationship, woman to woman, with the secretary is as necessary as the loving complaisance she has expended on her spoiled husband. "Duo" and "The Cat" are only less good because the experiences they re-create are more limited. All, with the possible exception of "The Indulgent Husband," have a wonderful variety in their unity, which goes, by way of "Adolphe" and "La Princesse de Clèves," back to Marie de France so far as French fiction is concerned. Historically Colette is in the grand French tradition.

About her art in general, however, there are three further comments to be made, and the two last cause me to wonder somewhat at her popularity here and in England. Everywhere in her writing are passages which reveal her joy in nature, whether she is observing the weather or describing the various beauties of cats, country landscapes, or the tamed foliage of Paris streets. Sometimes her scenery becomes a symbol, as when the aging Léa, whom Chéri has deserted for a suitable marriage, observes the dying beauties of his mother's garden. Most frequently, however, nature is an enchanting phenomenon to be carefully observed and fully enjoyed.

So far, given our school-day training in the nature poetry of the nineteenth century, so good. But other matters can make us uneasy. Even if she makes fun of it, the world of every one of these tales is bourgeois. Its *mores* are rigid. Respectability and order, founded on a solid cash basis, triumph over love. The retired courtesans in the Chéri sequence ape the bourgeois life, and, after much hard work, achieve it for themselves

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and their children. To us, with our belief in romantic love, in our good hearts, and in our disinterestedness, this attitude can be shocking. It is Colette's triumph that we never fall out of sympathy with even her most unpleasant characters.

More likely to be disturbing to the average reader is the fact that love and the arts of love, although they must always give way to other considerations, are so important. In America or in England the kind of plot Colette uses results in the lowest fiction, because, in America and in England—Jane Austen and Henry James are exceptions—love has never been taken entirely seriously as matter for fiction. Nor, except for Lawrence, has sensual love. In one of these novels a woman recognizes in her husband's conduct and appearance "the utter grace" that bathes him all over after love-making; in "The Last of Chéri" Léa loses her lover because, one morning, she is careless enough to let him see her double chin, her ruined throat. The fault is hers, quite as much as the bourgeois code which restores Chéri to his girl wife. His disgust may be heartless and ungentlemanly; it is also an actuality. For if love and love-making must give way to marriages of convenience, they are still the central facts of life and must be taken seriously. They are more important than simple sexuality, of which there is very little in these stories. The average reader, then, must adjust to values alien to those he is likely to have come on in American or English fiction, where sex is employed regularly to make best-sellers titillating or, more honestly, reduced to pornography. Not even "Sons and Lovers" and "Women in Love" have made it artistically respectable.

ERNEST JONES

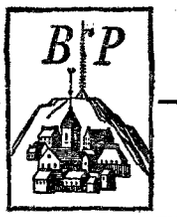
Essay on American Fear

THE FEAR OF FREEDOM. By Francis Biddle. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

HOW far American fear of Russian communism has gone in destroying American liberties is thoughtfully set forth in this book by our former Attorney General, who was in a position to observe the beginning of the process at first hand and who has studied it carefully since he left office. His main theses are that fear is necessarily incompatible with freedom and that the pursuit of "loyalty" leads to the grave of conformity rather than to the promised land of security. Although he exhibits well-tempered scorn for the careless political fanatics, such as McCarthy and McCarran, who would turn everyone into their own images, Mr. Biddle blames in some measure the public, which, he says, demands repressions out of fear of an imagined peril. I would have thought the word "accepts" better than "demands," but the results are just as tragic in either case.

Mr. Biddle points out that the obsessive fear of communism has led to the rise of hysteria not only among the ordinary run of bigots, who have been with us throughout our history, but among college professors, lawyers, and, with some notable exceptions, public officials. Scientists have shown more resistance than lawyers, whose fear of the threat of communism exceeds their concern for the preservation of liberty—and even law. It is thirty-one years since Charles Evans Hughes actively protested the ousting of five Socialists from the New York State Assembly. No one of his stature in the law has dared to protest effectively the deprivations of liberty which are becoming an every-week occurrence in our trembling land.

One of the many lessons Mr. Biddle points is the frequency with which we abandon liberties for all when some of us get scared. He gives useful accounts of the red scare following World War I. He goes to England for a parallel, where fear of the spread of the French Revolution led the governing and owning classes to act with even greater physical cruelty against nonconformists than we have done so far out of fear of communism. In the years immediately after World War I, Mr. Biddle points out, "tendency" became a test of criminality, and it has become so again today. On February 19, 1880, during another period of fear, this time in France, Flaubert wrote to Maupassant, who was being accused in a public trial of indecency: "With the theory of tendencies, you can execute a sheep for dreaming of meat." Fish, Dies, Thomas, Wood, McCarthy, and McCarran have been doing just that for too many years, and they have had the support of the worst elements in both political parties.



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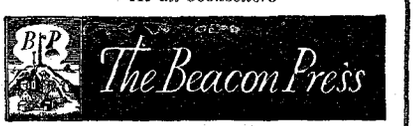

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Mr. Biddle has had access to hearings before loyalty boards, and if the results were not so tragic, some of the questions he cites would be ludicrous enough to blow up in a burst of laughter stimulated by common sense the whole apparatus of fear and oppression under which we live. Again, if our press were not also afraid, satire might regain us our liberties. Mr. Biddle rather neglects the negative role of the press; he likewise neglects the positive role of the Roman Catholic church in the spread of hysteria that has led to so much loss of freedom. He does point out how Roman Catholics themselves suffered in earlier periods of our history from an unreasonable fear of rule by the Pope. The Alien and Sedition Laws were passed out of fear of the effects of the French Revolution; our fear of Bolshevism kept the rigorous Espionage Act of 1917 in force long after it had served its purpose as a weapon against Germany; the McCarran act of 1950 is our latest legislative expression of hysteria.

Freedom, Mr. Biddle points out, requires maturity. Perhaps the American people are still suffering from growing pains—or is it that, worse still, they are suffering from hardening of the arteries? The enthronement of "guilt by association"—which Mr. Biddle describes in detail—not only as government policy but almost as a principle of law seems to indicate that we are at best in second childhood.

In his account of the loyalty program in operation Mr. Biddle gives instances to illustrate that the inquisitors are more interested in remaking the investigated in their own image than in intelligent inquiry. One member asked a victim whether he thought it was right to mix white and colored blood plasma and whether whites and Negroes should intermarry; another wanted to know whether the victim had read any bad books lately, such as Howard Fast's novels—the man admitted fearfully that he had once read articles in the New York *Times* on Karl Marx. It becomes clearer and clearer as one reads "The Fear of Freedom" that Communists are not the target but liberals, New Dealers, and Socialists, all of whom the Communists despise. And the effort is not to produce loyalty but conformity. It is also clear that the $21,500,000 spent on loyalty investigations from 1948 to 1950—and this figure covers only the direct cost—has not revealed one actual case of espionage or evidence, Mr. Biddle writes, pointing to espionage.

Mr. Biddle's suggested remedies for the current hysteria are that inquiries should be concerned with a man's behavior rather than his beliefs; that we should cease using "loyalty," a misnomer for conformity, as a yardstick for security; that we should stop choking our own progress by secrecy; and that we should have faith in ourselves. He contends that the remedy for espionage is counter-espionage and investigation by qualified federal, not state or municipal, agents, and that competition for publicity by politicians, misnamed statesmen, produces inquisition, not security. Courage to combat those in both parties who are now doing their utmost for personal political advantage to debauch our fundamental liberties is another requisite. Otherwise we are in danger of losing what freedom we still have, for giving in to bigots, like giving in to blackmailers, inevitably makes them all the more greedy and bold.

M. R. WERNER

Freud or Zilboorg?

SIGMUND FREUD: HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE MIND OF MAN. By Gregory Zilboorg. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

NO AUTHOR in the Twentieth Century Library, which aims to give the intelligent layman a basic understanding of the thinkers of the last hundred years, has a harder task than Dr. Zilboorg. Each of these authors is faced with problems of translation. Understanding of Einstein or of Henri Poincaré demands translation of mathematical symbols into words. In the case of Karl Marx and of Freud the translation of technical concepts into everyday speech is complicated by the polemic, half-understanding, misunderstanding, and emotional distortion which surround their names. With Freud there is the additional difficulty that many of his terms have now become part of the language, so that there is constant need to differentiate their technical from their colloquial meanings.

Dr. Zilboorg is well qualified to give an exposition of Freud's thought, but he fails in precisely those areas where the layman is usually found at fault; he gives an emotionally colored rather than a scientific appraisal of his material, and he makes constant use of imprecise language. Freud's stature derives from the originality of his thought, his close observation of clinical data, and his use of these observations to correct and enlarge his theories. These qualities do not emerge in this book. It gives neither a clear exposition of Freud's major concepts nor a chronological account of the development of his thinking. Instead it consists of somewhat random discussions of various things connected with Freud and of people in some way associated with him.

The emphasis on the lack of appreciation of Freud and on society's unreadiness to accept his thinking gives the book an oddly dated quality; battles of half a century ago are fought passionately as if they were current. On the other hand, there is almost no treatment of actual current attempts to modify or extend Freud's theories in the context of historical and comparative cultural studies.

To a reader who attempted to form a conception of Freud solely on the basis of this book Freud would appear, I think, primarily as a man in great need of defense, to whom detractors constantly "do an injustice," of whom it is necessary insistently to point out things that "do him credit," or are "to his honor," who must be defended as human in his "quasi-Olympian austerity." In the midst of almost any discussion on any particular subject. Dr. Zilboorg breaks off to champion Freud yet again against charges of "pansexualism," "narcissistic pride," and "actual misrepresentation." Freud had a group of "loyal and arduous disciples" who were also under attack, and these are singled out for praise by Dr. Zilboorg if they "understand and oppose . . . most of the opponents of Freud." There would seem to be only two kinds of people in the Freudian world, "antisexualist opponents of Freud" and "pro-Freudian partisans." Dr. Zilboorg's facts are presented in terms of moral judgments: he does not say that Janet differed from Freud but that he had an "inability" to accept Freud's version of the facts; Galton was "unable" to admit

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his own evidence. Freud "dared" to extend earlier methods; he was "bold" in contrast to the "prudist formalism" and "reckless irresponsibility" of the medical profession.

Freud appears, further, as a person who believed that there is no freedom without "free functioning of reason," but who thought that problems connected with the conscious, reasoning mind require "no special hypothesis" and are "obvious" and "easily dealt with"—a judgment which itself does not do justice to the rigorous quality of Freud's thinking. The reader would gather that somewhere along the way Freud talked about the unconscious, id, ego, super-ego, narcissism, and sex "in the broad Freudian sense," but these terms are usually introduced casually with little or no explanation of the meaning Freud gave to them, apparently on the assumption that the reader either understands what they mean or that this is not the place for him to acquire that understanding. In some parts of the book there is oversimplification to the point of inaccuracy apparent to anyone who has read carefully Freud's "Collected Papers" or even "The Interpretation of Dreams" and "The Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex." In others there is detailed discussion of engagements in the wars among various Freudian sects which can be of interest only to those who have intimate knowledge of these orthodoxies and heresies.

The picture of Freud that Dr. Zilboorg presents to the layman is probably related to his view of the intelligent layman. It would appear that the layman to Dr. Zilboorg is a person who, in place of any attempt at scientific precision, prefers such vague terms as "wellnigh identical," "almost with anxiety," "one would almost say," "more often than not," "major ingredients," "simple and self-evident." This layman for whom Dr. Zilboorg writes does not mind being put off with vague generalizations: "clinically and sociologically speaking, this theoretical basis of Freud did not matter"; "we had never known [the whole dark continent that is man] until Freud offered us a glance at him"; "never mind the reasons."

There are stimulating passages in this book, such as the discussions of Galton and of Freud's view that there must be irreconcilable conflict between the individual and society. And there are some clear sentences, such as "It is this intuition [the ebb and flow of affect] that Freud brought from obscurity and scientific disrepute, . . . and he tried to make a scientific tool of it."

The seven chapters have no titles, and it is not clear how most of the chapters could appropriately be differentiated by title. The layman reading a book of 132 pages on Freud is assumed to be more interested in polemics about Freud and in long quotations from Catholic journals on the relations of Catholicism to psychoanalysis than in Freud's thought.

Freud's last work, "An Outline of Psychoanalysis," is a book of 127 pages. This, too, is a difficult book for the layman. But it is written seriously, in Freud's remarkably lucid style, and its difficulties arise not from confusion but from the complexity inherent in the problems dealt with. With this compact volume available, in addition to Freud's "Autobiography" and his other earlier work, it is hard to avoid the question: Why Zilboorg?

HELEN M. LYND

Books in Brief

THE SERPENT-WREATHED STAFF. By Alice Tisdale Hobart. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50. The problem of making available to all Americans the benefits of modern medical science is here seen principally through the eyes of two brothers—the older a highly skilled but reactionary surgeon, the younger a crusading orthopedist pioneering in group and preventive medicine. Despite the primitive simplicity of the characters, and a prose style which can only be described as abominable (p. 318: "Jo thought, Sally is becoming more mother than wife"; p. 364: "He was worried. Sally had become more child than wife"), the rare sincerity and honesty of purpose of the author of "Oil for the Lamps of China" shine through every page of her long novel.

ROSS AND THE NEW YORKER. By Dale Kramer. Doubleday. $3.75. A once-over-lightly of the best-edited magazine in America. All the familiar legends and anecdotes are included—everything but an understanding of the elusive personality of the genius who made it what it is.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

EUROPEAN visitors have been known to complain that we Americans do not spend enough time talking about love. In my country, they sometimes explain happily, a mixed company will often spend a whole evening discussing only one fine point in the casuistry of that infinite subject. At such a symposium Jean Anouilh must be a star performer who can talk all fellow aficionados under the table before he even reaches the ultimate subtleties. But as a playwright for American audiences he is much better when, as in "Antigone," he does not really let himself go, and I cannot predict much success for "Legend for Lovers" now at the Plymouth Theater. It is always possible, of course, to blame everything on a mistake in the translation, and it may possibly be that this adaptation by Kitty Black is worse than the original. But it is difficult to imagine how this original could have been good.

Called "Eurydice" in the French, it is a version of the ancient story so ingenious that any residual resemblance is difficult to detect, and the moral seems to be that since love is sure to turn out less well than young lovers hope, Eurydices are fortunate when they get themselves killed in a bus accident and Orpheuses are wise to commit suicide without waiting for wild women, Greek or otherwise, to tear them to pieces. In Anouilh's version the scene is moved from Greece to a provincial railroad station in France. A minor actress happens to look into the eyes of a street musician and after a brief philosophical conversation they rush off to bed in a Marseilles hotel. As soon as things there have quieted down sufficiently to permit the curtain to be raised again the symposium resumes. Eurydice trembles to think how easy it would have been for them never to have met. Orpheus hopes that she will love him always and that she has not loved too many other fellows before. But since, through no fault of her own, she has been about quite a bit she decides that she had better run away and in so doing she catches her bus—in a sense she had not intended. Then a mysterious stranger who has been hovering expectantly in the background explains to Orpheus that things would never have been the same again, that, as a matter of fact, things never are what one had expected them to be, and that, in general, anyone who has ever spent one perfect night in a Marseilles hotel had best call it quits. Death is kind. Indeed, even dying would not be bad if it were not for the struggle which life perversely puts up. Orpheus then accepts this logic, and the final tableau shows him and his Eurydice reunited in some future whose reality or lack of reality is in no way defined.

All this solemn nonsense is very carefully staged, and in some sense it is well acted. Dorothy McGuire seems to believe in what she is doing, and Richard Burton, as the young lover, at least acts with that combination of nobility and pettishness which is the traditional formula for making a romantic hero. In fact, there is one part, that of the young man's aging father whose unsuccessful efforts to make a conquest of the bar maid are intended to show what happens to great lovers who live too long, which Hugh Griffith acts superbly well in every sense, thus contributing the only moments of reality in the whole play. But no acting could possibly save a work which is neither consistent in itself nor recognizable as a representation of an audience's experience.

Some say that the proposition "Resolved that life is not worth living" does not state a debatable question. Perhaps they are wrong. But in all seriousness I must say that I have never heard the case for the affirmative less convincingly argued and that only those really convinced for other reasons could ever find "Legend for Lovers" persuasive. When I was young we used to be told that one of the great differences between civilized Europe and Puritan America was simply that here we did not know how to take light loves lightly. We were put through an intensive course in importations from Vienna, Budapest, and Paris, from which we were bid learn that the end of the world does not necessarily come if two young people fall into bed together or even if it is discovered that members of the female sex have more than once been the victims of this pleasant accident. But did any Puritan ever have a dream so absurd as the dream of the young man in this play, and did any Puritan ever argue, as M. Anouilh here does, that if casual encounters in railway stations do not usually turn into beatific visions then life is obviously not worth living? Yet it is something very much like that which he seems to maintain with utter seriousness. No doubt a death wish can be the occasion of impressive works. But it needs to be a great deal better rationalized than it is in this merely sickly play.

The Other "Cleopatra"

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

CONTEMPORARY audiences are not conditioned to accept, much less respect, the love which Shakespeare celebrates in "Antony and Cleopatra"—the passionate love of a man and woman who are mature and at the full but no longer young and therefore jealous of time. Small wonder, since contemporary audiences are fed on the puerile, the "pure" and prurient, romance of the films, fed also on the cruder "Freudian" clichés about sex, and beset by the public convention—the private conviction may be different—that there is something a little ridiculous about passion in middle age. All the more reason why a production of "Antony and Cleopatra" should be pitched on a level of taste and tact which allows for gaiety but not for farce, for the communication of sensual delight but not of mere "sexy" titillation. And the appropriate tone, I learned on seeing the Olivier production, must be set in the very first scenes if the last scenes are to have their full tragic import.

The first scene of the Olivier production (Ziegfeld Theater) owes more to Hollywood than to Shakespeare, not only in its attributes as spectacle, which is well enough, but also in the first sight it gives us of Antony and Cleopatra. Instead of entering "with their trains" in the full dignity of a queen and a conqueror, they are carried in on a litter and they are so disposed and so comport themselves as to invite the titters that were immediately forthcoming. In the second scene, in Cleopatra's private apartment, farce is added to titillation. The eunuch Mardian is cast and made up to be funny; so, even, is the queen's adviser, Alexas. In this context

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the humorous byplay of the first part of the scene is turned into prurient farce—it is also given too much emphasis—while the ominous effect of the soothsayer's lines presaging the tragedy to come is quite lost on the giggling audience. But what is far worse, the court of Egypt is instantly made ridiculous in our eyes.

This handling is not only cheap but, in dramatic terms, incredibly stupid. The primary tension of the play rises from the conflict between two views of life, subsumed in the conflict between Rome and Egypt. The reader is pulled first toward one and then the other, and in the end the choice between them becomes for him, as for Enobarbus, a tragic choice. But here we are instructed at the outset to take, as it were, the Roman view of Egypt. As a result the basic conflict is renounced even before the action begins. It follows that parts of the play are rendered all but meaningless; and I think the utter wrongness of these opening scenes is best indicated by the fact that the crucial role of Enobarbus, the sensible man whose reason persuades him to choose Caesar and Rome and who then dies of grief and remorse for having deserted Antony and Egypt, has so little significance or relevance that it scarcely matters that he is badly cast—though it is hard to take an inept reading of "Age cannot wither, or custom stale. . . ."

Needless to say, the belittling of Egypt reduces the stature of Cleopatra as well, so that the love between her and Antony inevitably takes on the proportions of a private affair, not an affair of state involving the highest politics. And Vivien Leigh cannot overcome this hazard. She has not the presence of a queen; she is more girl than woman: she is very pretty but not voluptuous. She reads very well and her voice is sufficiently rich, but it has little variety, and its overriding, finally monotonous sound often tends to absorb rather than display the extremes of mood of a woman in love or the distinctions in tone between the woman and the queen.

As for Mr. Olivier, his performance never suggests, in spite of the lines that make it clear, that the capacity for love is as much an aspect of Antony's greatness as the capacity for world conquest. His passion for Cleopatra is presented rather as a weakness—again the Roman view—and there is in Olivier's reading and his overacting more than a hint of the old lecher, which is unforgivable. The audience loved it.

In the latter part of the play the acting of both, and particularly that of Miss Leigh, is much more in keeping with the spirit of the original; but the damage has been done, and though the final scenes are moving they are closer to pathos than to tragedy.

Robert Helpmann as Caesar and as symbol of the cold pursuit of power is pictorially effective—his head and face are made up to resemble the visage on a Roman coin—and he acts the part fairly well, though he gives the impression less of the strong man who has subdued the softer emotions to his will to power than of the robot who has never had to contend with them. Lepidus, the elder statesman, is well handled; the characterization of Pompey as an ineffectual and genial fool is another gaffe. But I must desist.

The pace of the production is fast, and the revolving set is employed to generate excitement as well as to accomplish quick changes of scene. To people who do not know the play the Olivier interpretation will probably seem "wonderful" if only because it does make so many concessions to current conventions. To me it seemed a sorry mishandling of a great play.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

TWO excerpts from Berlioz's "L'Enfance du Christ"—the lovely *Adieu des bergers à la Sainte Famille* and *Repos de la Sainte Famille* from Part 2—were issued here on records many years ago; and there was a Christmas Day broadcast of several excerpts a few years later; but there has been no concert performance of the entire work in New York that I have known about before the recent one by the Little Orchestra Society, which at last provided an opportunity to hear a score that W. J. Turner regarded as Berlioz's finest. It was a performance in which, as usual, the orchestra's playing under Thomas Scherman's direction was a mere production of the notes, and in which much of the solo singing—by Martial Singher, baritone, and Mary Davenport, mezzo-soprano—was not very agreeable to the ear. But there were also Leopold Simoneau, an excellent tenor; Donald Gramm, whose fresh bass voice was one of the most beautiful I have heard in years; and William Jonson's Choral Art Society, which produced sound of extraordinary transparency and loveliness. As for the music, to someone listening with Turner's statement in mind it was bewildering to hear

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the mellifluous nineteenth-century oratorio style in Part 1; but one heard the highly individual operation of the Berlioz mind in the overture and the familiar vocal portions of Part 2; and its most powerful manifestations came in Part 3, in the passages concerned with Joseph's anguished appeals for refuge and the granting of refuge by the Ishmaelite. Parts 2 and 3 certainly make "L'Enfance du Christ" a remarkable and beautiful work; but—recalling the marvels of the *Love Scene, Queen Mab, Juliet's Funeral Procession*, and *Romeo in the Vault of the Capulets* in "Romeo and Juliet"—I cannot agree with Turner that "L'Enfance" is Berlioz's finest score.

The Quartetto Italiano, at the Y. M. H. A., played Boccherini's Quartet Opus 6 No. 1 in half-voice, so to speak—with a delicacy of style and sensitiveness of phrasing that employed the finest gradations of its extraordinarily blended tone. All this made for the most remarkable quartet playing since the first years of the Budapest Quartet, and a perfect performance of Boccherini's charming work; but the same delicacy and sensitiveness in parts of Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 3, and a by no means robust treatment of other parts, produced a less satisfying performance of this piece.

With all the remarkable qualities of the tone there was a dryness which I wasn't sure I was hearing in the half-voice Boccherini performance, but which was unmistakable in the Beethoven; and when my guest exclaimed: "You know, it sounds like a different quartet up here; in Town Hall the tone was fuller and more luminous," I had my answer at last to the question that had been raised in my mind by the deficiencies in tone of the Budapest Quartet at the Y. The group has not been playing as it used to; but the poorer tone has been made to sound worse by the acoustic peculiarities of the Y. auditorium.

The New York City Ballet is now a superb company; and its great Balanchine ballets are enough to make its repertory quite the most distinguished in the world. The company is a superb one even without a Youskevitch, a Lazovsky, a Kriza whom it needs, and even with Laing whom it doesn't need and Eglevsky whom it would be better off without; the repertory is a distinguished one even with the inferior ballets of other choreographers than Balanchine. So far from objecting to the inferior ballets, I contend that these other choreographers must be represented in the repertory, and by what they produce. Not only that, but if keeping the Balanchine works on view for the small public which appreciates "poetic suggestion through dancing" depends on attracting to the box office the larger public which goes for literal representation of private neuroses and *crimes passionels* and for corny cuteness and comedy, I think the company is right to attract the larger public in that way. And I recognize a similar justification for the engagement of popular dancers like Eglevsky and Laing, but contend only that the proper way to use them is not to fit them into Balanchine ballets which they spoil but to present them in their specialties—Eglevsky in virtuoso pas de deux, Laing in a succession of "Lilac Garden"s.

If such tactics with the general public are necessary it is because there is nobody writing for it today as Edwin Denby wrote several years ago—nobody to explain, for example, that "to recognize poetic suggestion through dancing one has to be susceptible to poetic values and susceptible to dance values as well . . . I find that a number of people are, and that several dancers, for example Miss Danilova and Miss Markova, are quite often able to give them the sense of an amplitude in meaning which is the token of emotion in art." Instead there are, among others, writers like the one in *Theater Arts* who was described to me as one of those for whom modern dance expresses emotions whereas classical ballet is merely beautiful to the eye, and who was quoted as having credited Balanchine only with superb craftsmanship, not with artistic creativeness. There are, that is, writers who themselves lack the susceptibility to poetic values and to dance values that would enable them to recognize poetic suggestion through dancing.

The others include John Martin of the *Times*, whose present line with Balanchine is that of an admirer and friend who can understand Balanchine's affection for "Apollo," a "historical milestone," but must point out that it is "a very young and dated effort" which will never be a popular ballet; or who regrets having to counsel Balanchine to consign the wonderful invention of "The Four Temperaments" to oblivion for lack of the right music to carry it, and to return as beautiful a work as "The Fairy's Kiss" to the storehouse until its technical problems are solved; or who, conceding the beauty of "Swan Lake," must nevertheless admonish Balanchine sternly not to concern himself again with such old chestnuts—which is as though a theater company were admonished not to concern itself with Shakespeare or Shaw. "As a friend, and for your own good," says Mr. Martin to Balanchine, "I urge you to cut your throat."

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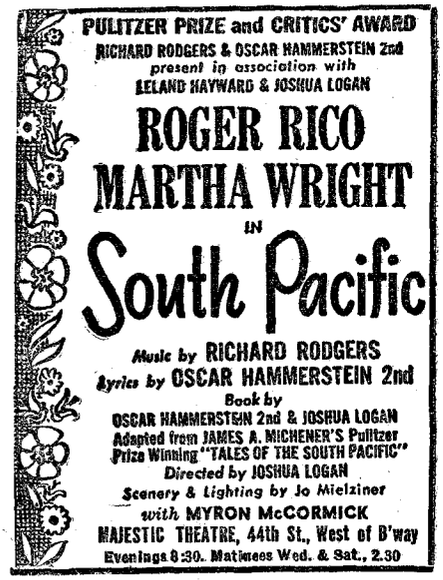
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Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"The Pattern of Responsibility"
Edited by McGeorge Bundy from the Record of Secretary Acheson
Reviewed by H. Stuart Hughes

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Letters to the Editors

Indo-Pakistan Relations Are Improving

Dear Sirs: I think most Western newspapers have neglected to emphasize the fact that relations between India and Pakistan have improved in recent weeks. After the tension that existed between the two nations during the summer, it is heartening to think that an era of good feeling may be in the making. The fundamental kinship between India and Pakistan came to the surface, strangely enough, at the time of the assassination of Pakistan's Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan. The grief expressed by Indian leaders was genuine, and the better atmosphere it engendered has not been dissipated. It had the immediate good effect of establishing Khwaja Nazimuddin, Pakistan's new Prime Minister, and Ghulam Mohammed, the new Governor General, in many Indian minds as "able and moderate" and striving for peace between India and Pakistan. New leaders could not have got off to a better start with usually hostile neighbors.

The first fact about Nazimuddin which an Indian mentions is that he is a Bengali. That, for them, places him. It is like saying Ambassador Chester Bowles is from Connecticut, which gives an American an image of a tall, honest-faced New Englander.

The general feeling is that Nazimuddin's being from East Bengal may help ease some of the tensions within Pakistan. East Bengal, that island of the Pakistan nation which is separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory from the capital at Karachi, holds 64 per cent of Pakistan's 76,000,000 people. With this proportion of the population the Bengalis believe they have not adequate representation in the top government posts. Nazimuddin's appointment is expected to allay that resentment.

Furthermore, because he is a more orthodox Moslem than was Liaquat, Nazimuddin is expected to please the religious-minded in Pakistan. He made his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1936, which gives him the honorary title of "Al-haj." Nazimuddin also pleases the educated moderns of Pakistan, for he has a "moderate" concept of the Islamic state and is said to have progressive ideas on such problems as land reform.

The big question—whether Nazimuddin and the others who have taken over the reins in Pakistan will be able to improve Indo-Pakistan relations over the long run—is considered in a spirit of hopefulness. Nazimuddin's efforts, when he was Chief Minister of united Bengal, to bring about harmony between Moslems and Hindus are often recalled. Also the ability to hold amicable talks with India, displayed by Ghulam Mohammed, the new Governor General, when he was Finance Minister of Pakistan is cited as an encouraging sign. Some people here in Delhi even say that Nazimuddin, lacking the drive of Liaquat, will be a quieting influence on the extremists in Pakistan; it might, of course, work the other way—he might be pushed by them. If he does control the extremists, an atmosphere may be created in which the "new approach" Nehru has been talking of can be worked out. The creation of such an atmosphere, of course, cannot be one-sided. The extremists in India would have to be quieted at the same time, a job which Nehru has been stressing constantly.

Delhi, India — JEAN LYON

Reaction in New Zealand

Dear Sirs: Your readers may be interested to learn of a bill recently introduced into the New Zealand House of Representatives, bearing the title "Police Offenses Amendment Bill," which makes it an offense to excite disaffection, or to arouse hatred, or contempt against H. M. Government of New Zealand, or any other member of the Commonwealth, or against the administration of justice. Clause 5 of the bill makes it an offense "to print, publish, sell, distribute, deliver, have for sale, or import into New Zealand, or cause to be imported any document or other matter having seditious intention or tendency" and places the onus of proof on the accused, presuming guilt if a document loosely described by law as "seditious" be found in a person's possession. Policemen have the right to seize any documents, printing presses, or duplicators and to arrest without warrant anyone they believe to have broken the statute. Bail is denied to the accused person pending appeal. Clause 12 gives the Crown the right to keep any seized property even if no charge is made.

The right to strike is for all practical purposes denied. The term "strike" includes a reduction in "normal output or the normal rate of work—the said act being due to any combination, agreement, common understanding, or concerted action, whether expressed or implied, on the part of any workers, and being intended or having a tendency to interfere with the manufacture, production, output, supply, delivery, or carriage of goods, or articles, or the carriage of persons. . . ." Clause 15 forbids anyone to "watch or beset any premises" or follow any person with a view to "compel, induce, or influence" him not to become a blackleg. It also makes it an offense to publish documents exposing any person or class to hatred or contempt. There is also a provision in the statute which outlaws the displaying of banners, badges, etc., deemed likely to "facilitate victimization of any person or class of person, or to boycotting any person or class."

Not only is the burden of proving innocence placed upon the accused, but under the bill statutory time limits in which charges can be made are abolished. Clause 17 gives a police sergeant the right to pass judgment on the likelihood of a person's guilt and makes it an offense to disobey his orders regardless of whether or not they are just or reasonable. Furthermore, a police sergeant has the right to forbid demonstrations or processions.

London, England — TOM HILL

Mexico's New White Wealth

Dear Sirs: Recently, a new class of *haciendados* has sprung up in Mexico which has further widened the gap between rich and poor in a country of extremes. Chief among them are the cotton millionaires who have blossomed in Matamoros across the Texas border from Brownsville. During the last decade the thirsty desert lands lying south of Matamoros, irrigated from Rio Grande projects, have burst forth with a new white wealth—cotton. The new millionaires, with the instincts and desires of pre-Civil War cotton planters, have made the city's El Jardin district into a showplace of fine homes and estates. At Nuevo Laredo, Chito Longoria is building a palace with seventeen bathrooms, a swimming pool, a

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five-car garage, and three bars. Longoria and his brothers—associates of Clayton and Company—own 10,000 acres of choice land, and control banks, cottonseed mills, wholesale and retail stores, and a score of other enterprises.

In contrast with this "new prosperity," Mexico's landless and impoverished agricultural workers, who still comprise the great bulk of the population, often receive no more than two pesos (23 cents) a day; even in the most prosperous regions farm wages are miserably low. The landless often subsist on 1,100 calories of food a day, but they hunger for land as well as food. Forgotten are the principles of the revolution, which promised the landless liberty and land. Today the emphasis is on industrialization, not land distribution. In the six years of the Cárdenas regime more than 43,200,000 acres were distributed to the peasants, but since 1940 the new owners have had to struggle against lawsuits and denunciations of titles and much land has returned to the big proprietors.

The peasants say that fiery Zapata and wild Pancho Villa still live and can be seen riding over the mesas. Some day, they say, these heroes may return to restore the land to them.

Mexico City FRANK KALMBACH

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PERSONALS

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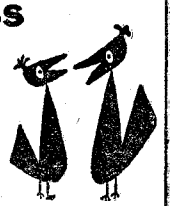

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Loyalty Oath for Writers

Dear Sirs: I am an English writer visiting this country as a guest of the United States government to see America. One of the first things I saw was *Collier's* World War III issue. . . .

Since loyalty oaths are the fashion, isn't there one loyalty oath everybody could take — self-administered — which would bind oneself, in this time of unbalance, not to write anything disloyal to human interests? The editors of dollar or pound journals might not understand. But the writers they try to seduce ought to. If they are desperately short of pounds or dollars it would be better to sell their illustrious names to advertisers of beer or cigarettes. . . .

Philadelphia GEOFFREY GRIGSON

[*Mr. Grigson is on the staff of the London* Morning Post, *literary adviser to the B. B. C., a former editor of* New Verse, *and author of a number of books of poetry and criticism.*]

An Error Cited . . .

Dear Sirs: The editors of *Scholastic Magazines* have read with surprise the article by Morris Mitchell entitled Fever Spots in American Education, first of a series on "The Battle for Free Schools," published in the October 27, 1951, issue of *The Nation.*

Presumably the *Nation* article, dealing as it does with very recent events in Pasadena, Englewood, and similar situations, was intended to inform readers of the present pressures on the schools and the forces behind them. The 1951 reader would have no idea, however, that the incident referred to involving *Scholastic Magazines* occurred over eleven years ago, before the United States entered World War II, and that conditions have changed drastically since then.

The feature in question was an article which appeared in the September, 1940, issue of the *American Legion Magazine,* entitled Treason in the Textbooks, by Orland K. Armstrong, now a representative in Congress from Missouri. In addition to its generalized charges of "subversive influences" in the schools, it published a list of textbooks, magazines, and pamphlets which, it alleged, the Americanism Commission of the American Legion had found objectionable. In addition to *Scholastic Magazines,* the list included such books as Carl Becker's "Modern History," Charles A. and Mary R. Beard's "United States History," and "The American Observer" and other publications of the Civic Education Service.

If this article was later republished in pamphlet form without change and distributed by the American Legion and the National Economic Council, we were not aware of it. But we have in our files a signed statement from Boyd B. Stutler, then managing editor of the *American Legion Magazine,* which was given wide publicity at the time, and which reads in part as follows:

> The *American Legion Magazine* expresses its regret that *Scholastic* was inadvertently included in the list of publications said to be objectionable for school use, which appeared in connection with the article entitled Treason in the Textbooks, by Orland K. Armstrong. . . .
>
> The editors of the *American Legion Magazine* find nothing in the publication [*Scholastic*] which is un-American or otherwise objectionable for school use. . . .

The Legion also found it necessary to make public retractions to other publishers whose publications were listed.

How the careless handling of facts can work to the detriment of innocent persons is well illustrated by the fact that as a result of the article in *The Nation* we have already received a number of inquiries about our "loss of circulation" brought about by an attack on us by the American Legion.

KENNETH M. GOULD,
Editor-in-Chief, *Scholastic Magazines*
New York

. . . Apologies Tendered

Dear Sirs: I can only offer my apologies to the editors of *Scholastic Magazines* for the erroneous impression given.

Putney, Vt. MORRIS R. MITCHELL

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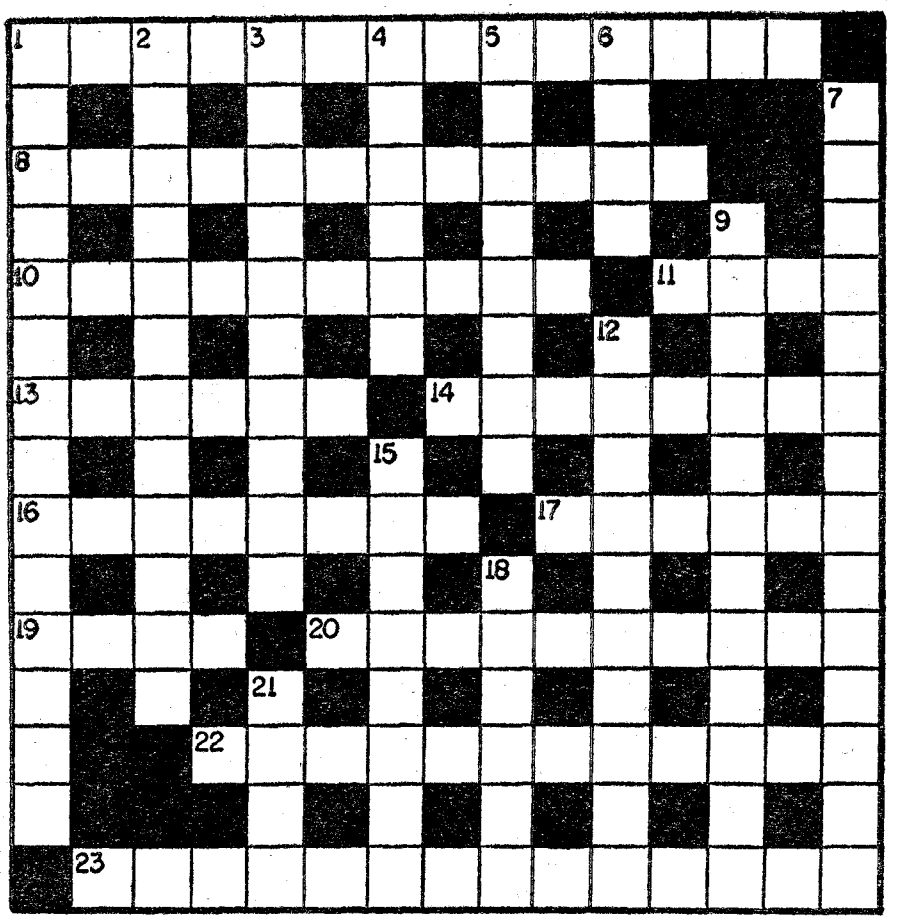
Crossword Puzzle No. 447

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Play with bobbles? (6, 2, 6)
8 Certainly not a transmitter. (12)
10 The owner of a crown of diamond would be. (10)
11 See 4 down.
13 Solemn and cucurbitaceous. (6)
14 Sounds like juicy fruit now and again, with not enough B,. (8)
16 81st element. (8)
17 See 23.
19 Were used to hold water once. (4)
20 Certainly no lover of Albion. (10)
22 Collection of tales which makes Conservatives blow their fuses? (5, 7)
23 and 17. Implying a waiter gets his directions confused? (2, 3, 9, 2, 4)

DOWN

1 See 4.
2 Logically should be hard, but actually soft drinks in England. (7, 5)
3 An entrant might have it firmly in his grasp. (10)
4, 11, and 1 down. The answer seems to be John's farewell at the exposition. (2, 4, 4, 3, 3, 6, 2)
5 Gave up and sneezed, by the sound of it. (8)
6 Cross the head of 3 up. (4)
7 Past masters? Quite the opposite! (Some of their sales take quite a licking!) (14)
9 Does he fin fewer bumps on the 10? (12)
12 Provided by tires and tactical planes. (3, 7)
15 If West is the dealer, the first card is. (3, 5)
18 Shuts things up in churchyards? (6)
21 This ruler sounds like he might make work out of play. (4)

• • ● • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 446

ACROSS:—1 FRESH AS A DAISY; 10 INDEX; 11 TASTEBUDS; 12 BLOWPIPES; 13 DRIER; 14 KEY SIGNATURE; 19 A WORLD OF GOOD; 22 ROCKS; 24 MONOGRAMS; 25 CURVATURE; 26 IMAGO; 27 CONFIDENCE MAN.

DOWN:—2 RED DOG; 3 SEX APPEAL; 4 ANTIPASTO; 5 APSES; 6 AMEND; 7 STUDIOUS; 8 LIMBO; 9 USURPER; 15 GIGANTEAN; 16 ALONGSIDE; 17 CAPRICE; 18 CONCERTO; 20 CABANA; 21 ASCOT; 23 STAFF; 24 MOUND.

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